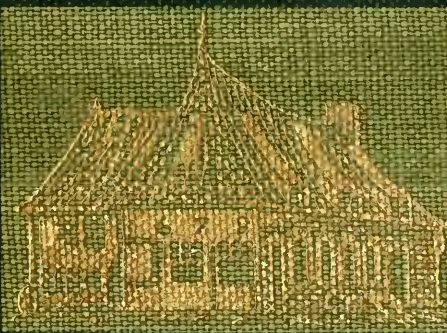




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By Rufus Rockwell Wilson

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"NEW AMSTERDAM, A SMALL CITY ON MANHATTAN ISLAND, NEW HOLLAND, NORTH AMERICA, NOW CALLED NEW YORK, AND IS A PART OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES, ABOUT 1667."

511K

# NEW YORK: OLD & NEW

*Its Story, Streets, and  
Landmarks*

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BY RUFUS ROCKWELL WILSON

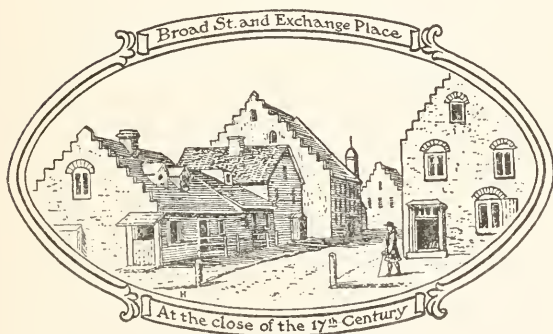
AUTHOR OF "WASHINGTON: THE CAPITAL CITY,"  
"RAMBLES IN COLONIAL BYWAYS," ETC.

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WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS FROM PRINTS  
AND PHOTOGRAPHS

AND WITH DECORATIONS  
BY EDWARD STRATTON HOLLOWAY

VOL. I



PHILADELPHIA & LONDON

J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY

1903

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Published October, 1902

*Electrotyped and Printed by*  
*J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, U. S. A.*

TO

WILLIAM WINTER

POET, SCHOLAR, CRITIC, AND KINDLY-HEARTED

GENTLEMAN

*“Far distant be the day that takes him from us!”*

## FOREWORD

---

the author's first thought at every stage has been to search out and lay hold of the human and personal element in the past, without which, facts, albeit important in themselves, must ever remain dull and lifeless things. New York's foster sons are her most devoted ones. If the writer's late gleanings in old fields awaken a wider and livelier interest in the brave but modest beginnings of the city of his adoption, and in the men and women who have helped to shape its destiny, he will feel that the reward for his labors is a generous one.

The preparation of this work has necessarily involved a study of every noteworthy authority dealing with the subject, but the writer especially acknowledges the helpful suggestiveness of a recent series of articles by Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer on "New York and its Historians." No student of the city's history who would get to the root of things can afford to neglect them. He also wishes to make acknowledgment to Mr. A. H. Clark, whose unrivalled knowledge of colonial affairs is always at the command of his friends.

R. R. W.

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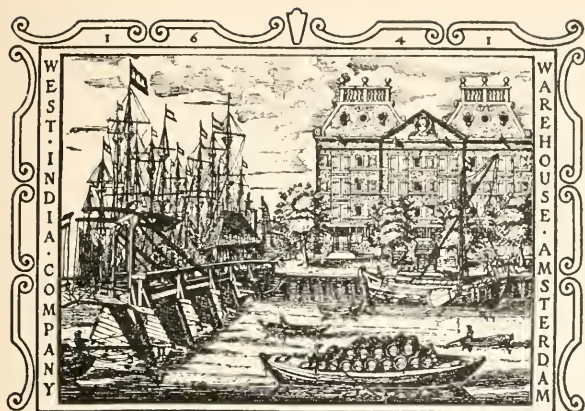
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*SECTION ONE*

NEW AMSTERDAM  
AND  
ITS BURGHERS





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# I

---

## *The West India Company*

THE master mariner holds first place among seventeenth-century worthies. It was an age of heroic water-fights, of daring voyages into remote seas, and of the winning of unknown lands. The Spanish king still claimed lordship over the New World, but his claims were already disputed by England and Holland, and in a hundred battles the sea-rovers of those countries finally won from him the mastery of the ocean. These sea-rovers served first one power and then another, shifting their allegiance, with the promise of greater glory and profit, as readily as

they did their raiment; but they scorned hardship and danger, gave themselves gladly to lives of stormy peril, and looked forward with fine indifference to inevitable death in some one of their contests with man or with the elements.

Typical of his time and class was Henry Hudson, an English adventurer in the service of the Dutch East India Company, who, in April, 1609, sailed out of the harbor of Amsterdam as captain of the little ship "Half-Moon," with a charge from his employers to seek a water-route to the Indies by the north side of Nova Zembla. Ice early blocked his advance into the Arctic, and so, heading westward, a month's cruise brought him, in July, to the coast of New Foundland. Thence he sailed southward to the James River, Virginia, and, again altering his course, still in pursuit of a new channel to India, came early in September upon the lordly river which bears his name. He anchored for a time at its mouth, and then sailed up the stream until warned by the shoaling water that he was at the head of navigation, near the present site of Albany; whereupon he turned the bluff bows of his vessel southward, and in the opening days of October set out on his homeward voyage.

The captain of the "Half-Moon" had failed to

find the Northwest passage, in further quest of which he was to perish grimly among the frozen waters of Hudson's Bay; but his voyage had noble issue in the planting of a trading hamlet, which the years have transformed into an imperial city. The merchants of Holland at that period annually despatched a hundred vessels to Archangel for furs; and Hudson's glowing accounts of the great stores of fine peltries he had seen in the possession of the Indians with whom he had bartered in his voyaging up and down the river fixed the attention of his employers upon a country where these articles could be had without the taxes of custom-houses and other duties. Early in the following year a vessel commanded by the former mate of the "Half-Moon" was sent across to trade with the savages and report further upon the country. Handsome profits attended this venture, and in 1613 the "Fortune" and the "Tiger," commanded respectively by Hendrick Christaensen and Adrian Block, sailed for the newly found bay and river, being followed within a twelve-month by three other vessels from Amsterdam and Hoven. Block lost his ship by fire while at anchor off Manhattan Island, and, being a man of grit and resource, he devoted a labori-



ous winter to building another, with such tools and materials as he could command. She was aptly christened the "Restless," when finished in the spring of 1614, and was the second vessel launched by white men in New World waters.

Block and his fellow-captains carried back to Holland such generous cargoes of furs that their masters were prompted to open regular communication with the Hudson River country and to establish trading-posts at its head and at its mouth for the purchase and collection of skins while the vessels were on their voyages to and from Holland. The main post, called Fort Nassau, was located just below the site of Albany; but four small huts were also built on Manhattan Island, their location being that now covered by Aldrich Court, at No. 41 Broadway. Captain Christaensen was appointed headman over both posts. This doughty sailor turned trader, and his half-dozen comrades were, therefore, the first white settlers on Manhattan Island. They found its lower end, when they explored their new home, made up of wooded hills and grassy valleys, rich in wild fruits and flowers, and its middle portion covered in part by a chain of swamps and marshes and a deep pond, with a

tiny island in its middle, while to the northward it rose into high rocky ground, covered by a dense forest, which was filled with abundance of game. Smaller ponds dotted the island in various places, and these, with a score of brooks and rivulets, swarmed with fish. It was an ideal nesting-place for men who loved the wilderness, and here the new-comers hunted, fished, and idled, or bartered the while with the Indians for the bales of valuable furs which, at intervals of many months, went to make up the cargoes of the three or four small vessels regularly sent out from Holland.

Now and then they quarrelled with their dusky neighbors, the Manhattans, an offshoot of the great nation of the Lenni Lenape, and in one of these quarrels Christaensen lost his life. The trade he had helped to establish, however, grew and prospered, for before the founding of Fort Nassau the merchants who first engaged in it had joined with others in the formation of the United New Netherland Company, to which the government of the Netherlands granted the monopoly of the fur trade with the newly discovered country for three years from 1615. All other persons were forbidden to trade in the regions covered by the grant, the penalty being

the confiscation of vessels and cargoes, with an added fine of fifty thousand Dutch ducats for the benefit of the grantees. This monopoly seems in these later times to speak a narrow and grasping spirit, but it was the natural product of an age when every nation's hand was turned against its neighbor and the settlement and conquest of new lands were left in the main to great trading companies. It was renewed for a year at a time until 1621, when the famous West India Company was chartered by the States General and given for twenty years the exclusive right of trade and commerce in what had now come to be known as the Province of New Netherland. The new company was granted a like monopoly in all other regions in the Americas over which the Dutch claimed jurisdiction, and for many years played a militant and heroic part in the history of the Netherlands. It waged war or made peace at its will, and founded colonies and cities which knew no authority but its own, while its ships and captains fought the king of Spain in all of the Seven Seas and sent to Amsterdam and her sisters such stores of loot from Spanish treasure-ships and the sacked cities of Brazil as made them for a time the richest of Old World towns.

Before the founding of the West India Company a formal treaty of peace had been concluded, in 1618, with the powerful Indian league of the Iroquois, which enabled the Dutch traders to push still farther into the wilderness in their hunt for furs, this with increased profit to their employers; and five years later Fort Orange was built within the limits of the present city of Albany. The West India Company, moreover, had been formed for colonization as well as for trade, and addressed itself without delay to its double task. The ship "New Netherland" was sent out from Amsterdam early in 1623, with some thirty families of Walloons, or French Protestants, who sought beyond the sea a refuge from religious persecution in their own land. A majority of the new-comers settled about Fort Orange, and others on the shore of Long Island, where is now the Brooklyn navy-yard. Yet another party was put ashore on Manhattan. More families came in 1625, bringing with them tools for farming and a hundred head of cattle, and soon the Manhattan settlement numbered upward of five score persons,—men who with their wives and little ones had come as home-makers, and not as transient traders. To confirm this promise of permanency a shrewd and

energetic native of the duchy of Cleves, Peter Minuit by name, was appointed director-general of the colony, with power to organize a provisional government. He arrived at his post in May, 1626, at the head of another band of colonists, and having, with commendable promptness and honesty, bought Manhattan Island from its Indian owners for the sum of sixty guilders, twenty-four dollars, in beads and ribbons, he proceeded to christen the infant town New Amsterdam. The name thus given it recalls an important feature of the management of the Dutch West India Company. That corporation was, speaking in a broad way, a commercial federation with branches established in the several cities of Holland. Each branch, though subject to the collective authority of its fellows, was clothed with distinct rights and privileges of its own, and was assigned a specific territory, over which it exercised the right of government and of trade. Thus, the post on Manhattan Island, with its dependent territory, claimed as extending from the Connecticut River to Chesapeake Bay and inland indefinitely, became the portion of the Amsterdam branch, and the name of New Amsterdam was given to the post.

Minuit had pith and quality, and he was, all

things considered, the ablest and best of the sundry directors who in turn ruled town and colony during their domination by the Dutch. He established and maintained friendly relations with the Indians, who in steadily growing numbers came to the little hamlet to barter and sell their furs. He built a horse-mill,—whose upper story was devoted to sacred uses,—a brewery, a bakery, warehouses for the company, a block-house, later enlarged into a fort, and, along with the fullest religious toleration, gave to each new-comer a cordial welcome and the use of as much land as he could cultivate. Not only Walloons and Huguenots, but Lutherans, Baptists, and Catholics, upon taking the oath of allegiance, were placed upon an equal footing in all things, and, flocking to the new city of refuge, helped to shape and emphasize the tolerant and cosmopolitan spirit which has continued down to the present time to be the distinguishing feature of its life. Thus, under Minuit's liberal and tactful rule, the population of New Amsterdam rapidly increased in numbers and in wealth; its trade grew and flourished, and the director was enabled to load the homeward-bound ships with larger and still larger cargoes of furs, which helped to make the stock of the West India Com-

pany yield handsome dividends and to rise to a high premium on the exchanges of Holland.

Minuit was handicapped, however, by a false and vicious, and, as the sequel proved, wholly defective scheme of colonization. The West India Company allowed the settlers no part in the management of their affairs. The schout, who acted as sheriff and collector of customs, and the council of five members which assisted Minuit in the discharge of his duties, were appointed by the Amsterdam chamber of the company, and all of its acts were subject to approval or reversal by that body, which also framed most of the laws for the settlers. The director, moreover, was expected to manage his trust not for the good of the colonists, but for the profit of the home company, which regarded its wards as vassals rather than as free men, as a source of possible dividends rather than as the founders, amid countless hardships, of a new state in a new land. This mistaken policy, even when executed by a sensible and well-meaning man, made the settlers indifferently loyal to the government under which they lived, and was to prove, when pushed to its logical conclusion by men who lacked Minuit's tact and shrewdness, a fatal source of weakness in its hour of utmost

peril. One of its earlier issues was Minuit's own undoing. Accused of favoring the colonists in ways which encroached upon the company's profits, and, having incurred further displeasure by a scheme of ship-building which, though successful,—the “New Netherland,” one of the largest merchantmen in the world, was launched at New Amsterdam and despatched to Holland,—was counted a too costly experiment by his employers, he was, in 1632, recalled from his directorship.



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## II

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### *King Log & King Stork*

**M**INUIT was succeeded by Wouter van Twiller. The new director-general, promoted from a clerkship in the company's warehouse at Amsterdam, did not reach New Netherland until the spring of 1633; but when he came he brought with him in the good ship "Soutberg" a force of a hundred soldiers, together with a Spanish caravel, captured on the way. Bibulous, slow-witted, and loose of life and morals, Van Twiller proved wholly unequal to the task in hand. Nevertheless, he managed, thanks to his unfailing good-nature, to keep on fairly friendly terms with both the colonists and the Indians, and he rendered substantial service to the infant town by the construction of a number of needed public buildings. The most important of these was the fort, begun by Minuit but completed by his successor, a quadrangular structure, three hundred feet long and two hundred and fifty feet wide, which enclosed a barracks and a guard-house, the public

offices, and a house for the governor, the last named being of brick. Van Twiller's fort building, however, was in keeping with his easy-going ways. Fort Amsterdam's northwest bastion was faced with stone, but the other parts of the walls were simply banks of earth without ditches; nor was there a fence to keep off the cows and goats running at large in the town. There is no doubt, on the other hand, that it exercised a restraining influence upon troublesome Indians, the colonists' most serious cause for anxiety; and certain it is that it remained until the close of the Dutch era the centre of the official, business, and social life of New Amsterdam.

It is not difficult to fix its exact location. The present Stone and Pearl Streets were in Van Twiller's time New Amsterdam's southern and eastern water-lines, while its western water-line was at Greenwich Street. The districts lying outside of these streets to the east and the west, along with Battery Park to the south, are all on ground rescued from the sea soon after the Revolution. A small hillock, surrounded by low, and in part marshy, ground, extended from the present State Street south of Bowling Green eastward across Whitehall and south of Bridge Street. The fort was built on this hill and occu-

pied the ground now bounded by Bowling Green, Whitehall, Stone, and State Streets. The main entrance faced to the north, opening upon Bowling Green, and was guarded by a small redoubt, called a horn, which, it is believed, stood upon the exact site of the present circular park. A creek ran up the present Broad Street nearly to Wall, and vessels anchored in the dock built at its mouth—this basin is now solid ground—were well protected by the guns of the fort. A windmill, used to grind grain for the soldiers, occupied one of the bastions of the fort. Another windmill was located in the present Broadway, just out of Bowling Green, and a mill for sawing timber on Nooten or Governor's Island in the harbor.

Van Twiller also built a church and a parsonage, for one of his fellow-passengers in the "Soutberg" had been Domine Everardus Bogardus, who became pastor of the first Reformed Dutch Church of New Amsterdam. Domine Bogardus would have none of the loft of the horse-mill in which his predecessor, Domine Jonas Michaelius, had preached and prayed, and so a church, a rude structure of wood, was built for him on the present line of Pearl, between Whitehall and Broad Streets, and fronting the

East River. Near by a house was prepared for the domine, while a graveyard was laid out on the present Broadway, just above Morris Street. The street levels of the Dutch town were much lower than those of the modern city, and the accumulations and the filling of later days bury deep the graves of New Amsterdam's first settlers. Their bones and dust, however, are still there, as was well proved when excavations were made for the present buildings.

A resolute, brainful man, Domine Bogardus took from the first a leader's part in the affairs of New Amsterdam. He also won, in due course of time, the heart and hand of one of the town's richest women. This was Annetje, the widow of Roelof Jansen, more commonly called Anneke Jans. Their marriage brought Bogardus wealth and greater influence, and enabled him to live in a comfortable house, which stood near the corner of the present Whitehall and Bridge Streets. The domine preached with vigor on Sundays, and on week-days kept a watchful eye on civic affairs. Many of Van Twiller's acts failed to meet with his approval, and, when the former resented his criticisms with such spirit as he could command, Bogardus, who believed in dealing knockout blows, denounced him from

the pulpit as "a child of the devil and a consummate villain." There may have been truth in these charges, but the director-general very naturally did not relish them, and never again entered the domine's church.

Bogardus was not the only thorn in Van Twiller's side, for the director-general's trials began on the morrow of his arrival in the colony, and ended only with his dismissal from office. English as well as Dutch claimed the country from the Connecticut to the Delaware, and the former's efforts to establish posts and trade with the Indians caused Van Twiller endless trouble and perplexity. The "Soutberg," in which he had voyaged from Holland, had not yet sailed for home when an English vessel entered the harbor, and, boldly passing the guns of the fort, sailed up the river to the head of navigation, where she cast anchor and began to barter with the Indians for their furs. The irresolute Van Twiller at first did nothing more than assemble the people in front of the fort and order them to drink confusion to the English government; but, finally, pushed to action by his angry fellows, he sent an armed force to overhaul the intruder. She was captured and brought to New Amsterdam, where the peltry

she had gathered from the savages was confiscated, after which she was sent to sea, with a warning never again to interfere with the trade of the West India Company.

A little later, a colony which the Dutch in 1623 had established on the east bank of the Delaware, opposite the land now occupied by Philadelphia, having been massacred to a man by the Indians, a band of Virginians, led by George Holmes, possessed themselves of the deserted Dutch fort and set to work to found a settlement and trading-post. One of these adventurers, Thomas Hall, an indentured servant, turned traitor to his fellows and carried word of their doings to New Amsterdam. Troops were thereupon despatched against the invaders, who were captured and brought to New Amsterdam, where Van Twiller rated them soundly for their invasion of Dutch territory, and then shipped them back to Virginia. Holmes and Hall, however, remained and initiated the Dutch in the culture of tobacco, which quickly became and for some years remained the colony's most flourishing industry. Less success attended Van Twiller's efforts to ward off the encroachments of the English on the east. He completed and garrisoned Fort Good Hope, begun in 1623 on

the site of the present city of Hartford, and announced his purpose to hold the Connecticut River by force; but he failed to back up his threats with arms when the test came, and a colony of Puritans from Plymouth, sailing up the river, took and held possession of its banks.

Affairs went smoothly the while in New Amsterdam itself. In 1633 the town received the grant of "staple right," a feudal privilege by which all vessels trading along the coast or sailing on the river were obliged to either discharge their cargoes at the port or to pay certain duties. This gave New Amsterdam the commercial monopoly of the whole Dutch province and served to increase its wealth and population. The fur trade also kept pace with the growing prosperity of the town, and during the year 1635 the directors in Holland received returns from the province to the amount of nearly one hundred and thirty-five thousand guilders. Nevertheless the company found growing cause to question the honesty, if not the wisdom, of Van Twiller's rule. Proofs multiplied that he was more concerned with the improvement of his own fortunes than with safeguarding those of his employers. During Minuit's time a large portion of the island had been marked off into

six farms, or bouweries, which were reserved for the use and profit of the company. One of these farms, which extended on the west side of the island from the present Wall to Hudson Street, Van Twiller tilled on his own account; a second, on which the village of Greenwich afterwards grew up, he appropriated for a tobacco plantation; and the others he permitted to fall into neglect or to be used without recompense by men as indifferently honest as himself. He further secured for his own use Nooten Island—whence its name of Governor's Island—and several islands in the East River. It was also alleged that he connived at the sale of guns and powder to the Indians, and remained suspiciously inactive when unscrupulous colonists and officials made surreptitious encroachments upon the company's monopoly of the fur trade. The end came in 1637, when he was removed from office on the charge of having diverted the moneys of the corporation to his own use.

Van Twiller was succeeded, in March, 1638, by William Kieft. Again the company made a sorry choice of servants. The new director-general was industrious and temperate, but of narrow views and uncertain temper, and without the talent for managing men so needful in the



leader of a company of pioneers. Thus he early became embroiled in petty quarrels with those around him, and, impatient of honest criticism, gradually assumed the tone of a despot dealing with his subjects. One of his first acts was to organize a council to aid him in the government. This council, however, consisted of only one man, a reputable Huguenot named Jean de la Montagne, and Kieft forestalled all danger of a tie by decreeing that La Montagne should have but one vote and he himself two. Then he proceeded to govern by a series of edicts. One of these threatened death against all who should sell arms and ammunition to the Indians. Therein the director decreed wisely, but other of his edicts sought to interfere with and regulate the private affairs of the people, prescribing when they should go to work and to bed, and rigidly restricting the sale and use of liquor; and these attempts at sumptuary legislation bred anger and resentment in the liberty- and mirth-loving colonists, who, accustomed, the most of them, to a generous measure of self-government, protested with vigor against its curtailment. Kieft, ere his first year in office had run its course, was the most cordially hated man in New Amsterdam.

The new director, however, did not a little to improve the condition and appearance of colony and town. Trade therewith was in 1638 opened to free competition for all people of the United Provinces and their friends and allies of any nation on payment of certain duties on imports and exports, the carriage of goods and cattle being still confined to the company's vessels. Certain commercial privileges formerly limited to a favored few were also extended to all free colonists. A little later the inhabitants of New Amsterdam were allowed to trade with all friendly colonies, and private persons with New Netherland in their own vessels, while at the same time the colonists were given the right to manufacture, hitherto denied them. The effect of this liberal policy was presently visible in a steady influx of new immigrants. These included several large parties led by men of substance, and were of so many different nationalities that in 1643 Father Jogues, the Jesuit, could write that he found eighteen languages spoken on Manhattan Island. Many of the new-comers were from the Puritan colonies, whose stern religionists were moved to helpless anger at the warm welcome extended to their whilom associates by the Dutch. Roger Williams found

refuge for a time in New Amsterdam, and so did Anne Hutchinson when banished for conscience' sake from New England. Thither also came John Underhill, a famous Indian fighter from the Massachusetts Bay colony, who had divided with John Mason the laurels of the Pequot war; Thomas Willett, a New Plymouth captain, in after years the first mayor of New York; and Isaac Allerton, who had come over in the "Mayflower," and, following his settlement in New Amsterdam in 1638, won a place among the principal merchants of the town.

Kieft also gave a semblance of order to New Amsterdam's crooked streets and lanes, and instituted two fairs, one for cattle and the other for hogs. These were held every autumn upon Bowling Green, and drew so many visitors to the town that it was found necessary, in 1642, to build a tavern for their entertainment. New Amsterdam's first inn, a large stone structure erected at the company's expense, fronted the East River at Coenties Slip. Its exact location was at No. 73 Pearl Street. Part of the foundation of the warehouse which now occupies the site is that of the ancient building, and is one of the few remains of the Dutch period still extant. Philip Gerritsen was the first landlord

of the Stadt Herberg, or City Tavern, and found his calling a not always peaceful one, as a characteristic story that has come down to us bears witness. One night, in March, 1643, Gerritsen has three or four of his friends and their wives at dinner, and the assembled guests are eating and making merry after the hearty Dutch fashion, when John Underhill, Thomas Willett, and one or two other Englishmen enter the tavern and seek admission to the party at table. The intruders, who are making a night of it and are all far gone in their cups, are greeted with sour looks or averted eyes, whereupon, taking anger at the scant welcome extended to them, they draw their swords, and, with shouts and oaths, begin to hack lustily at the doors and furniture. Mine Host Gerritsen sends in haste for the fiscal and the guard. This officer, arriving, orders Underhill and his companions to depart. The English captain refuses and shows small regard for the fiscal and his men. "If the director came here," he retorts, "'tis well; I would rather speak to a wise man than to a fool." "Then," says one of Gerritsen's guests in his affidavit before the authorities, "in order to prevent further trouble, yea, even bloodshed, we broke up our pleasant party before we intended." The

Stadt Herberg was not long without a rival, for in 1643 Martin Cregier was granted a lot at what is now No. 9 Broadway, whereon he built a tavern, called after his name, which soon became and long remained the favorite hostelry of the town. The Stadt Herberg served its original purpose until 1654, when it became the Stadt Huys,—New Amsterdam's first city hall.

One of the most interesting and attractive figures of the New Amsterdam of Kieft's time was David De Vries, a brave and generous man who had seen much service both as soldier and sailor, and who, besides founding settlements on Staten Island and in what is now Westchester County, played a leader's part in all the affairs of the colony. It was at the instance of De Vries that Domine Bogardus was provided with a new and larger church,—this time inside the fort. De Vries had visited the Puritan colonies to the eastward, and on his settlement in New Netherland rallied Kieft on the mean appearance of the church in the Perel Straat. The first care and task of the New England settlers, he said, was to build a handsome place of worship, and he offered to contribute a hundred guilders towards building a larger and better one in New Amsterdam. Kieft, though much impressed,

had not the money needed for the purpose, but soon the happy thought came to him to secure subscriptions for the same by taking advantage of the condition of the guests at a festival given by Domine Bogardus in honor of the marriage of his wife's daughter. "The director," writes De Vries, "thought this a good time for his purpose, and set to work after the fourth or fifth drink; and he himself setting a liberal example, let the wedding-guests sign whatever they were disposed to give towards the church. Each then with a light head subscribed away at a handsome rate, one competing with the other; and although some heartily repented it when their senses came back, they were obliged to pay; nothing could avail against it." And so, in due time, a stone church, seventy-two feet long and fifty-five feet wide, was built within the fort,—the finest building in New Amsterdam. It was used for fifty years as a church, and for another half-century by the military, when it was burned.

Kieft and Bogardus did not long remain on friendly terms. The domine soon found cause to oppose the new director as stoutly and fearlessly as he had Van Twiller, and so pithy were his attacks from the pulpit, that Kieft for many months refused to enter the church and sought

to prevent others from so doing. Moreover, to drown the domine's preaching, he allowed drums to be beaten within the fort during the church sessions, and even caused cannon to be fired in order to distract attention from the domine's sermons, which often charged the director with murders, covetousness, and gross excesses. Finally, Kieft could forbear no longer, and summoned Bogardus to appear and answer before the council for his conduct.

The summons, still extant, charges Bogardus with being frequently drunk, both in and out of the pulpit, and that when in that condition he "did nothing but utter slanderous language, sparing scarce any individual in the country. All these things," it concludes, "being regarded by us as having a tendency towards the ruin of the country, both Church and State being endangered when the magistrate is despised, and it being considered that your duty and oath imperatively demand their proper maintenance; whereas, your conduct stirs up the people to mutiny and rebellion, and makes us a scorn and laughing stock to our neighbors, all of which cannot be tolerated in a country where justice is maintained. Therefore, our sacred duty demands that we seek out a remedy against this

evil. This remedy we now intend to employ, in virtue of our high commission from the company, and we design to prosecute you in a court of justice, to do which in due form we have made an order that a copy of these our deliberations shall be delivered to you, to answer in fourteen days, protesting that we intend to treat you with such Christian lenity as our conscience and the welfare of State and Church will permit." The domine at first ignored this summons, but later put in a plea to the jurisdiction of the court, and mutual friends of the contestants finally brought about a permanent truce.

The main cause of difference between Kieft and Bogardus was the former's treatment of the Indians. There had long been ill-feeling between the whites and savages, fed by the occasional murders and outrages committed on each side, and when Kieft, acting against the advice of men wiser than he, sought to levy an annual tax of corn, furs, and wampum upon the Indians about New Amsterdam, he completely estranged them from the settlers and laid the foundation of a long and bloody war. Hostilities began in July, 1640, when a band of Raritan Indians was accused of taking certain property upon Staten Island and of attacking a trading-vessel. Kieft,



without waiting to learn the truth of the matter, sent out an expedition of fifty men, who killed several of the savages and burned their crops. This led to a counter attack by the Raricans upon the Dutch settlement on Staten Island, in which four of the settlers were slain. Thereafter things went from bad to worse, and, early in 1643, Kieft, made furious by the fruits of his own mistaken policy, ordered the massacre which stamped his name with enduring infamy.

The river Indians, attacked by the dreaded Mohawks, had fled to New Amsterdam for protection, and were encamped, a part of them at Corlear's Hook on the East River, and the rest, to the number of a thousand, near the bluff in Hoboken now occupied by Stevens Castle. Kieft, on Shrovetide night, ordered the soldiers to surprise the sleeping and unsuspecting Indians, and more than a hundred of them were killed in cold blood. This wanton and practically unprovoked slaughter united all the Indians about New Amsterdam against their common foe, and soon eleven tribes were waging savage war against the whites. Every outlying farm and the smaller settlements were ravaged, the Indians putting their prisoners to death with dreadful tortures, while the survivors sought

refuge in New Amsterdam or the best fortified of the smaller hamlets. The Dutch in turn sent bands of soldiers, led by Underhill and others, to surround and kill the Indians in their stockaded villages; and a blow struck by the English captain, in March, 1644, may be said with truth to have saved New Netherland. Seven hundred Indian warriors were gathered behind palisades in the mountain country north of Stamford. Underhill, with a hundred and fifty Dutch and English soldiers, made his way by water to Greenwich, whence a long day's march took them to the stronghold of their foe. The attack was made at midnight, by the light of a full moon, and when morning came six hundred tawny corpses strewed the crimsoned snow, while Underhill had lost but fifteen men. This appalling blow shattered the league of tribes against the Dutch. The Indians of Long Island and Westchester hastened to sue for peace; and in August, 1645, a treaty was signed by Kieft and his council and the chiefs of all the tribes engaged, putting an end to the war.

The return of peace found less than six score white men remaining on Manhattan Island. The others had fled up the river to Fort Orange or had returned to Holland. The struggle had

issue, however, in the beginning of popular government in New Amsterdam. Kieft, in his hour of peril, called a meeting of all the settlers and chose twelve of them as a council to advise him in the war. He dissolved this Council of Twelve when it criticised his course and hastened to demand a larger measure of self-government; but afterwards a Council of Eight was chosen by popular vote, and this body, when the director refused to heed its protests, sent a full statement of the colony's troubles to the West India Company, which, after long delay, removed Kieft and named Peter Stuyvesant to succeed him.

Kieft sailed for Holland in August, 1647, in the ship "Princess," carrying with him, if the estimate of his enemies be worthy of credence, a comfortable fortune made from the private still he had conducted on Staten Island. He had for a fellow-passenger his whilom antagonist Domine Bogardus, who was returning to lay his version of recent affairs before the company and to set himself right with the Classis at Amsterdam. A mistake in reckoning carried the ship far out of its course and to wreck on the coast of Wales, where Kieft and Bogardus, with eighty others, lost their lives. It was a

tragic sequel to the stormiest period in New York's early history, but in one quarter at least it awoke no regret, for the shipwreck, the pious Winthrop tells us, "was considered in New England an observable hand of God against the Dutch at New Amsterdam, and a special mark of the Lord's favor to his poor people here and displeasure towards such as have opposed and injured them."

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### III

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#### *Stuyvesant's Iron Rule*

“**I** SHALL govern you as a father his children, for the advantage of the chartered West India Company and these burghers, and this land.” Such was the greeting of Peter Stuyvesant to the people of New Amsterdam when, on a May day in 1647, they gave him noisy and joyous welcome as their new director-general. With the fine portrait of him, painted from life and now among the collections of the New York Historical Society, it furnishes the key to those resolute qualities which were to make him a distinctive figure in the early history of the town. “Mettlesome, obstinate, leathern-side, lion-hearted,” are some of the epithets applied to him by the dutiful Knickerbocker, and though set down half in jest, they may be accepted as the sober verdict of the historian upon a man who knew both how to fight and how to rule, but who was often narrow in judgment and hasty in action, and who could never be persuaded that the

opinions of others were to be consulted with his own.

Born in 1592 and bred a soldier, Stuyvesant spent most of his life in the service of the West India Company, and as governor of Curaçoa lost a leg in a fight with the Portuguese at San Martin. This mishap sent him back to Holland, where, having regained his health and replaced his lost leg with a wooden one, he was selected by his employers as a fit and proper man to bring order and prosperity to the vexed colony of New Netherland. He was appointed to replace Kieft early in 1645, but various causes delayed his departure from Holland, and, as stated, it was not until 1647 that he arrived at New Amsterdam. With him, besides soldiers and colonists, came his wife, Judith Bayard, the granddaughter of a Huguenot clergyman who fled to the Netherlands after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and his widowed sister and her children. This sister had married a brother of Stuyvesant's wife, and their sons, Nicholas, Balthazar, and Peter, were the progenitors of the Bayards in America.

One of Stuyvesant's first acts in office taught the colonists the meaning of his promise to rule them "as a father his children." Cornelis Melyn and Jochim Kuyter, leading members of

the Council of Eight, petitioned him for an inquiry into Kieft's policy and behavior during the Indian war, and that testimony be taken for use in a report to be forwarded to the company in Holland; but the new director, seeing in it a blow at the sacredness of his office, angrily rejected their petition, with the declaration that "it was treason to complain of one's magistrates, whether there was cause or not." Nor was he content to drop the matter at this point; and when Kieft, bent upon revenge, caused the arrest of the two burghers on a charge of rebellion and sedition, in that they had complained to the company of his conduct, he saw to it that they were found guilty at the end of a trial which outraged justice, and then fined and banished both men. "If I was persuaded," said Stuyvesant, as he denied them the right of appeal and pronounced their sentence, "that you would bring this matter before their High Mightinesses, I would have you hanged on the highest tree in New Netherland." Melyn and Kuyter were placed as prisoners on board the ship "Princess," then ready to return to Holland, and we shall presently learn what befell them at the end of their voyage.

Stuyvesant, despite his brave talk and despotic ways, soon found that he had to do with men as

stubborn and resolute as himself. He had been instructed to lose no time in repairing the military defences of New Amsterdam, then in a sad state of dilapidation; but the treasury was empty, and the colonists soon made it clear to him that the only way to get the money needed for the purpose was by giving heed to their protests against taxation without representation. He stormed and threatened, but finally yielded, and in September, 1647, ordered an election, in which the people chose eighteen of their "most notable, reasonable, honest, and respectable" men, from whom nine were selected by the director and his council, to assist, when called upon, in providing for the general welfare. Six members of this board were to be succeeded annually by six others selected by the director and council from among twelve candidates nominated by the outgoing members.

The Nine Men, though thus hedged about by restrictions designed to bring them more and more under the director's influence, proved from the first sturdy and vigilant defenders of the interests of the people; and when Stuyvesant of a sudden called in all debts due to the company, thereby causing much distress, and at the same time set afoot a system of high custom-house



duties which told heavily against the infant commerce of the town, they demanded that a delegation should be sent to Holland to set forth the condition of the colony and to ask for various reforms. To this the director would not agree unless the delegation were sent in his name, a condition which those who made it declined to accept; he refused to call a great council or assembly of citizens to consider the points at issue, and, assuming the aggressive, jailed Adrian van der Donck, the young and spirited leader of the Nine Men, and seized all his papers. To defend his action, "he called a council of his own choosing, and charged Van der Donck with making allegations calculated to bring the government into contempt. He must either prove or retract these allegations; and meantime let him be unseated from the board of Nine Men."

Thus the issue was clearly drawn between the autocratic theory and method as embodied in Stuyvesant and his office and the demand for representative government voiced by Van der Donck and his fellows. It was a gloomy outlook for the popular party, but soon aid and cheer came to it from an unexpected quarter. Melyn and Kuyter escaped from the wreck of the ship "Princess," in which their accuser Kieft lost his

life, and, proceeding to Holland, so effectively pleaded their cause before the States General that Melyn was now sent back to New Netherland with a safe-conduct from their High Mightinesses, and bearing also a writ which cited Stuyvesant to appear at the Hague and explain his harsh treatment of the two burghers. The director accepted this unlooked-for rebuff with such composure as he could command. He sent an attorney to speak for him at the Hague, and he allowed the Nine Men to have their own way in the matter of a memorial to the States General. Accordingly Van der Donck and two colleagues, in the midsummer of 1649, sailed for Holland with a petition to their High Mightinesses, asking that they should oust the West India Company and assume direct control of New Netherland, and that they should give New Amsterdam a municipal government patterned after those of the cities of the mother-country.

Though Van der Donck found the task he had set for himself a stubborn and difficult one, in the end a measure of success attended his efforts. The West India Company flouted the complaints of misrule at New Amsterdam, denying with vigor the need for reforms, and the interests enlisted in its behalf proved powerful enough to

prevent the States General from taking over the government of New Netherland. That body, however, urged the company to make divers wholesome changes, and decreed that New Amsterdam should have a municipal government. And so at the feast of Candlemas, in 1653, Stuyvesant, not without grumbling and much against his will, proclaimed the new city. Its charter was modelled after that of Amsterdam, and provided for a schout, or sheriff, two burgomasters, and five schepens. These officials enacted the laws and ordinances governing the city, and also constituted a municipal court for the trial of civil and criminal cases. Their meetings were held on Monday mornings in the stone tavern which Kieft had built on Pearl Street and which was thereafter known as the Stadt Huys, or City Hall. Stuyvesant claimed and often exercised the right to preside at these meetings, and was wont, as tradition has it, to stamp angrily on the floor with his wooden leg when things did not go as he willed them. Moreover, though it had been decreed that their choice should be left to the people, the director at first retained the appointment of schout, burgomasters, and schepens, and he also insisted that he still had authority in his own person to make ordinances

and issue proclamations binding upon the city. Nevertheless, the charter of 1653 marked the visible beginning of representative government on Manhattan Island, and the men to whose heroic labors it was due deserve and will ever hold an honorable place in its history.

The visit to the Hague of the representatives of the Nine Men bore fruit in another way, for the long debates in the States General called forth by their memorial, and an excellent "Description of New Netherland," published by Van der Donck in 1653, created an interest in America hitherto unknown on the continent of Europe, and, with the added knowledge that the traditional Dutch policy of religious toleration prevailed beyond the sea, drew a swarm of colonists to New Amsterdam. Waldenses from Piedmont, Huguenots from France, Lutherans from Sweden and Germany, Scotch Presbyterians, English Independents, Moravians, Anabaptists, and Jews were among the new-comers, and so steady was the migration that between 1653 and 1664 the population of the town doubled, while that of the whole province increased fivefold. But this wholesale influx of folk of many creeds brought a regrettable break in the policy of complete religious toleration

which had hitherto distinguished New Amsterdam from her neighbors. This policy, be it said, was simply an informal adoption of the traditional custom of the Netherlands. The rules of the company, on the other hand, forbade the setting up of any church except the Dutch Reformed, and these rules Stuyvesant, who was a fanatical Calvinist, now proceeded to interpret and enforce with all the zeal of a bigot. He arrested and deported to Holland a Lutheran minister who had been sent over by his co-religionists to form a congregation in New Amsterdam; he fined and imprisoned Lutheran parents who refused to have their children baptized in the Reformed Dutch Church, and he banished from the province an unlicensed Baptist exhorter who had administered the sacrament and baptized a number of converts, "though not called thereto by any civil or clerical authority."

The director's hand, however, fell heaviest on the Quakers, a party of whom, expelled from Boston in 1657, sought refuge in New Netherland. One of the refugees, Robert Hodgson, settled in Hempstead, and when he began preaching to the people of that town, he was haled to New Amsterdam, brought before Stuyvesant and the Council, and, without being

allowed to speak in his own defence, sentenced to two years' hard labor with a wheelbarrow, or to pay five hundred guilders. Hodgson had neither money nor friends to discharge his fine, and so on a sultry summer day he was brought from his cell, chained to a barrow, and ordered to load it. This he refused to do, declaring that he had done no evil and broken no law, whereupon he was stripped to the waist and a stout negro beat him with a piece of rope until he fell to the ground. Still refusing to submit, the hapless Quaker was whipped the second day, and again on the third; kept for two nights and a day without bread or water, and then hung up by the thumbs and cruelly beaten with rods. General sympathy, however, was now aroused in Hodgson's behalf; and at last, shamed by the appeals and reproaches of his sister, a woman of sense and resolute will, the director ceased his persecutions and set the prisoner free.

It is pleasant to record that such acts as these were hotly condemned by public sentiment, and it quickens the pulse to read the splendid protest put on record by the officers of Flushing, when, for holding Quaker meetings in his house, Henry Townsend, a leading citizen of that town, was fined eight Flemish pounds or to be flogged

and banished. "The law of love, peace, and liberty, extending in the state to Jews, Turks, and Egyptians," declared the town officers of Flushing in refusing to enforce this sentence, "forms the true glory of Holland; so love, peace, and liberty, extending to all in Christ Jesus, condemn hatred, strife, and bondage. But inasmuch as the Saviour hath said that it is impossible that scandal shall not come, but woe unto him by whom it cometh, we desire not to offend one of His little ones, under whatever form, name, or title he appear, whether Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist, or Quaker. Should any of these people come in love among us, therefore, we cannot in conscience lay violent hands upon them. We shall give them free ingress and egress to our houses, as God shall persuade our consciences." The thirty-odd men who put their names to this document deserve to be ever held in grateful memory, but their action at the moment brought them persecution from Stuyvesant. The sheriff was cashiered and fined, the town clerk was thrown into jail, and the justices of the peace were suspended from office, while heavy penalties were laid upon some of the other signers.

Stuyvesant, however, was soon compelled to

stay his hand. Again he had erred through excess of zeal, and when news of his persecutions reached Holland, they were condemned without a dissenting voice. "The consciences of men," ran the letter of rebuke which in due time came across the sea from the Amsterdam Chamber, "ought to be free and unshackled, so long as they continue moderate, peaceable, inoffensive, and not hostile to government. Such have been the maxims of prudence and toleration by which the magistrates of this city have been governed; and the result has been, that the oppressed and persecuted from every country have found among us an asylum from distress. Follow in the same steps and you will be blest." The over-zealous director could not fail to understand the meaning of this rebuke, couched though it was in courteous phrases, and he never again sought to interfere with liberty of conscience.

Stuyvesant, whose strong points and weak ones were those of a soldier, was often more successful in his dealings with his foes than with his friends. His treatment of the colony of New Sweden is a case in point. Peter Minuit, who had reason to feel that his dismissal from the directorship of New Netherland was unjust and undeserved, had entered the service of Queen



Christina, and in 1638 led a band of Swedish colonists to the west shore of Delaware Bay. There he founded the settlement of New Sweden, on lands bought of the Indians, and built a block-house, called after the queen, Fort Christina. Soon a message came from Director Kieft warning him that he was trespassing upon Dutch territory, but he paid no heed to the threats to oust him; and though he presently perished in a West Indian hurricane while on his way to Sweden for reinforcements, others took up the work he had begun, and the colony prospered in modest fashion. John Printz, who became its governor in 1643, built two more forts, one on the east and the other on the west shore of the Delaware, a dozen miles below the site of Philadelphia. These twin fortresses lay between the Dutch Fort Nassau and the sea, and were a continuing thorn in the side of the authorities at New Amsterdam. It was not, however, until 1655, Charles X. being then engaged in a war with Poland which absorbed all his resources, that an order came from Holland to drive the Swedes from the Delaware. Stuyvesant obeyed it with his usual zeal. With seven ships and seven hundred soldiers he pounced of a sudden on the Swedish forts, and for the latter, taken

completely by surprise, there was nothing to do but surrender. This they were allowed to do with all the honors of war, and it was also agreed that such Swedes as wished to remain should be protected in their rights of person and property.

Stuyvesant was recalled from the Delaware to face and avert a threatened general massacre of the Dutch by the Indians. The latter, thanks to the new director's tact and firmness, had made no trouble since the conclusion of Kieft's war, and that they now resorted to their old ways was due wholly to the stupid cruelty of one man. This man was Hendrick van Dyck, whose house and bouwery stood on the west side of Broadway, just below the present Rector Street. On a September afternoon in 1655 Van Dyck shot and killed an Indian squaw whom he found stealing peaches in his orchard. It was a wanton and foolish act, and it bore terrible retribution. The murdered woman's tribe, knowing that the director and military were absent from New Amsterdam, quickly gathered the warriors of all the river tribes, and in the early morning of September 15 nearly two thousand of them swarmed into the town, declaring that they came in search of some Indians from the north. A parley between the magistrates and the sachems

was held in the fort, and the intruders were finally persuaded to betake themselves in their canoes to Governor's Island. They returned, however, at nightfall, and rushing up Broadway to Van Dyck's house, sent an arrow through his heart, while Paul van der Grist, who lived next door, coming to his neighbor's rescue, was struck down with an axe.

The startled burghers instantly rallied to a desperate defence, and drove the savages to their canoes, but only to change the scene of destruction. The Indians, paddling to the Jersey shore, laid Hoboken and Pavonia in ashes, and thence crossed to and devastated Staten Island. Within three days one hundred settlers were killed, one hundred and fifty taken prisoners, and three hundred lost their homes. Not a few were put to death with fiendish tortures. Such was the grewsome situation that confronted Stuyvesant upon his return from Fort Christina. He acted with firmness and good sense, and, while making ready for an aggressive campaign, strove by kind words and presents to placate the Indians. Success in the end attended his efforts. The Indians, alarmed by his preparations and pacified by his presents, consented to release their prisoners and sign a new treaty of peace.

Disputes between the Dutch and English communities in America continued through the whole of Stuyvesant's time. The English, who, as we know, claimed the entire continent as having been discovered by Cabot, looked with covetous eye upon the rich possessions of their Dutch neighbors. Despite the threats and protests of Stuyvesant, the Dutch in 1650 were compelled to abandon all claim to New England territory; Westchester and eastern Long Island fell successively into the hands of their rivals; and as the latter slowly yet surely extended their rule, men who read aright the signs of the times saw clearly that they would be content with nothing less than the whole of New Netherland. Indeed, whenever the English and Dutch were at war, New Amsterdam had always to fear the threatened attack of some English squadron. Cromwell, in 1654, sent four ships-of-war to America, and this fleet, manned by two hundred English regulars and thrice as many New England volunteers, was about to sail from Boston for New Amsterdam when word came that peace had been made between the Lord Protector and their High Mightinesses; and the Dutch colony was given a fresh lease of life.

Ten years later, however, the always dreaded

blow really fell. There was peace at the time between England and Holland, but that fact had small weight with the Stuart king who ruled the former country, and there were, on the other hand, strong reasons for asserting by force his claim upon New Netherland. No European goods, it had been enacted by Parliament, should be brought into the English colonies in America except in English vessels sailing from England; but this law promised to be more honored in the breach than in the observance so long as the Dutch retained control of New Netherland. More than that, control of the Hudson River, the main outlet of the profitable fur trade eagerly coveted by England, was also essential to the military command of the continent by the English. And so, pondering these facts, Charles II. resolved to seize New Netherland by surprise, even if by so doing he brought on another war with Holland.

Accordingly, in 1664, the king granted to his brother James, Duke of York and Albany, a patent of Long Island and of the mainland between the Connecticut and the Delaware, including the whole of the Dutch possessions in America. Then the Duke of York, moving with the deepest secrecy, lest Holland should take

alarm and send a fleet to the defence of New Amsterdam, despatched four ships, with five hundred veteran troops under command of Colonel Richard Nicolls, already appointed governor of the province about to be seized, to take possession of his newly acquired territory. The English squadron, reinforced by a number of volunteers from the Connecticut colony, anchored in the lower bay on an August morning in 1664, seized the block-house upon Staten Island, and cut off all communication between New Amsterdam and the adjacent shores.

Stuyvesant, trained soldier that he was, had long recognized the military weakness of his position, and had again and again appealed to the company for men and means to defend the province; but his appeals had gone unheeded, and the coming of the English found the town ill prepared to stand a siege. Fort Amsterdam mounted only twenty guns with a scant supply of powder, and both of the river banks were without defences, while not more than four hundred men were able to bear arms, and among these were many Englishmen who were secretly longing for the triumph of their countrymen. The enemy's ships, on the other hand, carried not less than one hundred and twenty guns and a

force of nearly one thousand men. Stuyvesant wished to fight, even against such odds, but he was not allowed to have his way. Besides the English in the town, there were many disaffected Dutchmen, who, weary of the company's narrow policy and the director's overbearing ways, were not averse to a change of masters; and when Nicolls coupled a summons to surrender with the assurance that the privileges of the Dutch should be in no wise restrained, but that they should continue to have full liberty to settle at Manhattan and to go and return thither in ships of their own country, Stuyvesant was urged by leading citizens to accept the terms of the English and save the town from sack. "I would rather be carried out dead," was his reply; but he was at length obliged to yield and to order the white flag raised above the fort. Articles of capitulation were quickly agreed upon, and at eight o'clock on the morning of September 8, 1664, the flag of the West India Company fell from Fort Amsterdam, and the Dutch soldiers, with Stuyvesant stumping sullenly at their head, marched to the water-side, where boats were lying to carry them to the ship which was to convey them to Holland. At the same time the English forces marched blithely

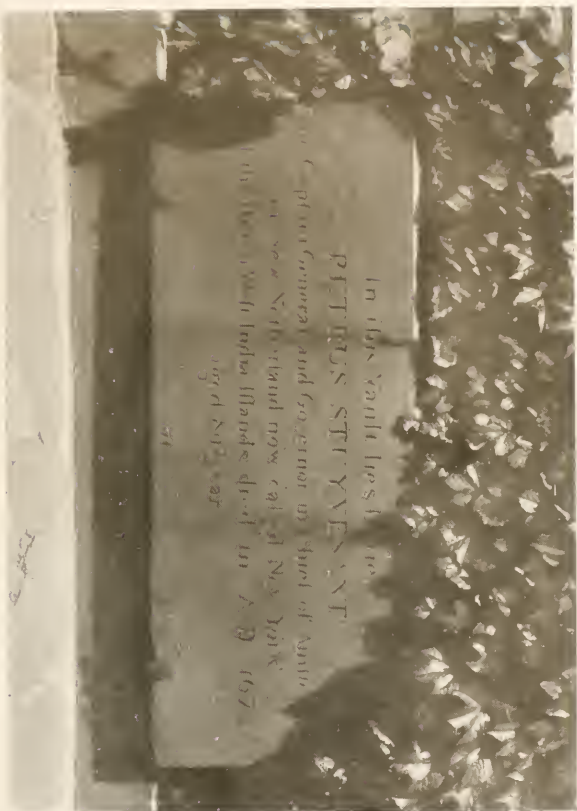
down Broadway from where they had been waiting, about in front of where Aldrich Court now stands; the flag of England went up over what then became Fort James, and Governor Nicolls formally took possession of town and province in the name of the English king and for the use of the Duke of York. And so without the striking of a single blow the rule of Holland in America came to an end.

Stuyvesant's association with New Amsterdam, speedily renamed New York, lasted, however, until the close of his life. A year after the surrender he crossed the sea to make his report to the States General and to justify his conduct to the West India Company. But as soon as his business was done he hastened to return to America. He had learned to love the town in which he had kinged it sturdily for the better part of twenty years, and there, dwelling in comfortable retirement, he passed the happiest, the most peaceful days of his long, stormy career. His well-tended bouwery, stocked with the finest breeds of horses, cattle, and sheep, occupied the space now bounded by Sixth and Seventeenth Streets, and by Fourth Avenue and the East River. The roomy wooden house of Dutch design, to which he delighted to welcome his



friends, stood just east of Third Avenue and north of Tenth Street, and was girt about by orchards and flower-gardens. The owner was an enthusiastic fruit-grower, and a pear-tree, which he brought from Holland on his return in 1667 and set out in his garden, remained for years one of the landmarks of the town. Men not yet old recall this tree as still standing in their boyhood at Third Avenue and Thirteenth Street, encircled by an iron fence. It was blown down during the great snow-storm of February, 1867, and its wood, cut up into mementos, is now treasured in many city homes.

Stuyvesant died in 1672, at the age of eighty, and was buried beneath the chapel built by himself on his farm. The will of his widow, who survived him ten years, founded St. Mark's Church, and the present edifice, erected in 1802, stands upon the same site. A tablet built into its east wall tells the wayfarer that Peter Stuyvesant sleeps within; and a legend handed down from an earlier time has it that the ghost of the whimsical and obstinate old man still haunts o' nights the town upon which he left the impress of his masterful spirit, and with shadowy wooden leg stumps to and fro through the streets of his buried farm.



TOMB OF PETER STUYVESANT, ST. MARK'S CHURCH IN THE BOWERY



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## IV

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### *Dutch Days & Ways*

CARRIED back through the years by the magic of a wish, let us take a stroll about the New Amsterdam of 1664,—the last year of Dutch rule. The Indian-harried village of Kieft's time had now become a firmly established colonial town, in outward seeming not unlike the smaller seaports of the motherland, but borrowing from its wild surroundings a picturesqueness and color all its own. Seen from the harbor, the most conspicuous object in the town was the fort, with its twenty guns and the belfry of the church of St. Nicholas peeping over its walls. A little to the west of it, on a bluff within the present Battery, stood the principal town windmill. Just without the fort's eastern wall, near the present South Ferry, rose the roomy stone house, built by Peter Stuyvesant in 1658, and flanked on its shoreward side by a garden stretching down to the water's edge. Governor Dongan, at a later time, rechristened this house Whitehall, and so gave

a name to the street, in which also stood the dwelling of the governor and the whilom parsonage of Domine Bogardus, with its garden of tulips and hyacinths, bordered with cedar and closely trimmed box. Hard by, at the foot of the present Moore Street and extending out a little beyond the line of the present Water Street, was the town's only public wharf, with the weigh-house at its head. Farther afield, in the solid block now bounded by Stone and Bridge Streets, but then cleft by a narrow passageway called the Winckel Straat, stood the stone store-houses of the West India Company, fronted by a sloping green. Going up Whitehall to where that street debouches on Bowling Green, the visitor would espy on the left the town pump and the burial-ground, the one facing the north wall of the fort and the other a stone's throw away on the west side of the present Broadway.

The most travelled thoroughfare in the town was the Perel Straat, or Strand, which, following the line of the present Stone and Pearl Streets, led from the fort to the Brooklyn ferry at about the site of the present Peck Slip. The Perel Straat, as has been told in another place, was then the water front, but in later times three blocks have grown up to the east of it on made

ground. Most of the visitors to New Amsterdam in those days came from Long Island and passed through the Perel Straat on their way to the heart of the town. Walking up this street, past the jail with its gallows and stocks, and the church built by Van Twiller, one would come at Coenties Slip upon the Stadt Huys, which served as a city hall until, in 1699, a new one was built in Wall Street at the head of Broad. The older structure was flanked by dwellings and warehouses, and in front of it a battery of three guns frowned upon the river. Where Pearl Street crossed Wall was the Water-Gate,—of which more anon,—and a few rods to the north of it lay a small green valley drained by a brook. This stream was skirted by a footpath, called the Maagde Paatje, or Maiden's Path. Here the buxom lasses of the town came to wash their family linen, spreading it to dry on the sward of the hill on the west, and memory of this custom is preserved in the name of the present Maiden Lane. A blacksmith's forge, placed there to catch the trade of the Long Island farmers, stood at the foot of the valley threaded by the Maiden's Path, and gave to it the name of Smith's Vallei, shortened in the speech of the period to Vly.

Beyond the Maiden's Path and nearer to the Brooklyn ferry another public way, the present John Street, led to Shoemaker's Land, a tract now bounded by Broadway, Ann, William, and Gold Streets, where the tanners of the town plied their trade until 1696, when they were driven to the low marshy ground in the vicinity of Ferry Street, which is still known as the Swamp. Between Shoemaker's Land and the East River, and running from the Maiden's Path to the present Beekman Street, lay the bouwery of Dirck Vandercliff, which was to become classic ground in the days of the Revolution under the name of Golden Hill. A part of the old title survives in the name of Cliff Street. North of Golden Hill, near the present site of Fulton Market, were the store-houses belonging to Isaac Allerton, whose main business was the importation of tobacco from Virginia; and thence a few steps would carry one to the site of the present Peck Slip, where the ferryman, Harmanus van Borsum, who dwelt hard by, would come at the sound of a horn hung upon a tree at the water-side to row the waiting passenger across the river, charging therefor the modest sum of three stivers. North of the ferry the town's limits on the East River side may be said, in 1664, to

have ended at a mill which stood on the bank of the little stream, later called Old Well Brook, through which the waters of the Fresh Water Pond were discharged into the East River at about the present Roosevelt Street.

Looking southward from the water mill beside the Old Well Brook the first object that would have caught the eye of the visitor of 1664 would have been the wall which then guarded the northern approaches to the town, and whose memory is preserved in the name of the modern city's most famous thoroughfare,—Wall Street. This wall, built in 1653, during the first war between England and Holland, as a protection against both English and Indians, consisted of a line of palisades and posts, twelve feet in height and sharpened at the upper end, to which planks were nailed at a height of ten feet from the ground. Within this wall was a sod rampart and a fosse, or ditch. Both palisades and earthwork stretched quite across the island, following, in the main, the line of the present street; and there were block-houses at intervals, and two arched entrances,—the Water Gate at the wall's eastern end and the Land Gate at the corner of Broadway. The work of making the wall a formidable defence was kept up for the better



part of a generation. Two stone salients, each mounting several guns, were added in the course of time, the one at Broadway and the other at King (now William) Street; while under the English the wall's western end was carried southward along the steep bluff, which afterwards furnished a site for Greenwich Street, until it reached Fort James. It should, however, be stated in passing that the only effective purpose ever served by this wall was one probably not taken into account by its projectors: it was never used in time of war, and it acted as a corset to confine the growing town to the end of the island. There were but a score of buildings outside it in 1664, and as it was not demolished until 1699, it for many years restrained the natural northward expansion of the city, which, despite the age-long custom of packing houses closely together brought by the settlers from Europe, would have begun much earlier had it not been for the presence of this unnecessary barrier.

Besides the Perel Straat, another well-travelled road led, in 1664, from the fort towards the northern part of the island. This second thoroughfare was known as far as the Land Gate as the Heere Straat, or High Street, and beyond the wall as the Heere Wegh, and for more than

a hundred years was the only road that traversed the island from end to end. It followed the line of Broadway, past orchards and gardens and green fields reaching down to the Hudson, to the site of Ann Street, where it was deflected eastward through the present Park Row and Chatham Street into the Bowery Lane, so named by Stuyvesant's country-seat, which it passed, and so went on into the wilderness. Passing the point of deflection, the traveller would have had a reach of swamp on his right hand and on his left the grazing-ground long known as the Flats, then as the Common, or the Fields, and now as City Hall Park, while a little farther on he would have skirted the large pond, sometimes called the Fresh Water and sometimes the Collect, which covered the area bounded by the present Baxter, White, Elm, Duane, and Park Streets. The farthest outlying dwelling on the Heere Wegh was Wolfert Webber's tavern, which topped a small hill near the present Chatham Square. The tendency of the town for many years was to grow towards the northeast, and in 1664, save for a cluster of houses near the present Gansevoort Market, which later grew into Greenwich Village, the west side of the island above the Common was desert of human life.

Whitehall, Broadway, and Pearl Street were so essential to the needs of the town that they practically established themselves; and the same may be said of Broad Street, which from Pearl ran northward in a gentle curve to the city wall, and was in the last days of Dutch rule the abiding-place of the quality of the town. Broad Street, called of old time the Heere Graft, originally had a narrow stream running through it for the distance of a quarter of a mile. The burghers, who in crossing the sea had not lost their love of home things, made haste to deepen the bed of this stream and to dyke its sides with posts, thus forming a canal navigable for boats as far as the present Beaver Street. Several wagon- and foot-bridges spanned the canal, and there was a roadway on each side of it, along which the well-to-do folk built their houses, with stoops and gables facing the water after the fashion of the motherland. A dozen years subsequent to the time of which we are writing Governor Andros had the canal arched over and the roadway built solidly above it; and since that day the stream has continued to flow under Broad Street, doing duty as a sewer. Beyond Beaver Street the canal, in the days before it was buried from sight, narrowed to a ditch,

which drained the swamp that extended northward as far as the present Exchange Place. There were lateral ditches at the lower end of the swamp, running east and west on the line of Beaver Street, and flanked by rows of houses; and this system of drainage having converted it into a meadow, it was used for many years as a sheep-pasture. Domine Samuel Drisius, pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church from 1652 to 1681, was the first owner of the Sheep Pasture, which occupied the area now bounded by Wall, Beaver, New, and William Streets; and so profitably did it serve its original purpose that not until 1699 was it cut up into lots and given over to the home-maker.

Whitehall, Broadway, and Pearl and Broad Streets aside, most of New Amsterdam's earlier streets, to the number of a dozen, were the outcome of individual need or whim or had their origin in paths that were the shortest way to some place of general use. Each settler in the first days of the town was, it would appear, free to put his house where he pleased, and to surround it by an enclosure of any shape or size. This random growth, however, gave New Amsterdam a piquant individuality of its own, and lends to the present tangle of streets below Bowl-

ing Green something of the romance and flavor of a by-gone time. Moreover, thanks to the painstaking and generally accurate Valentine, it is not difficult to fix the habitations of the men who in 1664 gave life and being to the town. Thomas Hall, who had introduced the culture of tobacco on Manhattan Island, had his home on a hill near the present Beekman Street, and Govert Loockermans, one of the wealthiest traders of the town, resided on the present north side of Hanover Square. The home of Balthasar de Hart, who, though a bachelor, "left at his death several children, for whom he provided liberally out of his large estate,"—made in the West India trade,—was on the north side of the present Pearl Street, between Hanover Square and Broad Street. Jacob Leisler, a soldier turned merchant, destined in years to come to play a fateful part in the history of the town, lived on the present west side of Whitehall between Pearl and State Streets. Frederick Philipse, whom native shrewdness and a brace of fortunate marriages were to make the richest man of his time in America, had his dwelling and warehouse on the north side of Stone Street, near Whitehall. Oloffte Stevensen van Cortlandt, whose name is preserved in the present Cortlandt

Street, had his brewery in the same thoroughfare. Cornelis Steenwyck, long the principal retail merchant of the town, who had come to New Amsterdam as mate of a trading-vessel, and, smitten with the charms of one of its daughters, had cast in his fortunes with her people, occupied the present corner of Whitehall and Bridge Streets; and Domine Drisius dwelt comfortably, as became the spiritual head of the community, in a roomy house which, set in a large garden, stood on the west side of Broad Street near Wall.

New Amsterdam's first dwellings, which stood on the west side of the present Pearl Street, were one-story log cabins, with bark roofs and wooden chimneys; but as the colony grew in numbers and wealth, social conditions underwent a change, and the settlers began to build their houses of brick and stone. Bricks at first were imported from Holland, but in Stuyvesant's time yards were established in the outskirts of the town, while the northern end of the island furnished an abundance of stone. Many of the houses had gable ends of black and yellow bricks, with the date of their erection inserted in iron figures facing the street, and a weathercock surmounted each tiled or shingled

roof. The windows, with their diamond panes, were small, but the doors were large, and the one fronting the street, adorned in most cases with a burnished brass knocker, was always cut in twain, so that, the upper half being swung open, the sociable burgher could lean on the lower, smoke his long pipe, and gossip with passers by. Conducive also to neighborly intercourse was the high stoop, which the settlers borrowed from the motherland, where the house-builder raised his best rooms above the risk of inundation, and thus gave to the modern city one of its distinctive architectural features. The shops of those engaged in trade occupied, as a rule, the ground floors of their houses, while each house had its garden large enough in most cases "to furnish accommodations for a horse, a cow, a couple of pigs, a flock of barn-yard fowls, a patch of cabbages, and a bed of tulips." One of the very few houses of the Dutch period still standing on Manhattan Island is to be found at No. 19 Pearl Street. The foundations of this structure are of stone; its rooms are low-pitched but large, and its interior arrangements, though much changed in later years, prove the early period of its construction. Its first occupants tended their tulips under the guns of the fort; and following this

olden custom, the present tenant, who has been there for half a century, still plants the yard with flowers.

The houses of the well-to-do had each a wide hall running from end to end, with rooms on either side. Carpets as yet were almost unknown, and fine sand, stroked with a broom into curious curves and angles, covered the snow-white floors. The place of honor in the parlor, only used upon state occasions, was held by the guest's bed, pride of the Dutch matron, with its curtains and valance of camlet and killeminster; and in one corner of the same room stood a huge chest, built of oak, bound with iron, and filled to overflowing with household linen, spun by the women of the family. Another corner held the Holland cupboard, with its glass doors, displaying the family plate and porcelain. Sofas, couches, and rocking-chairs still belonged to the future, and the best chairs of the New Amsterdam housewife were straight, high-backed affairs, covered with Russia leather and profusely ornamented with double and triple rows of brass nails. Stoves and ranges were not to come into use until a later time, but in their stead the Dutch burghers had the cheerful fireplace, with its great back-log and glowing fire of hickory



wood, its brass fender and fire-screen, and its chimney-piece inlaid with colored tiles representing scriptural and apocryphal stories. Such was the size of the kitchen fireplace that it would almost have sufficed to roast an ox whole. Within its grateful warmth the family foregathered of an evening,—the burgher silently smoking his long pipe, while the good vrouw turned the spinning-wheel, and the children and servants, grouped in the spacious chimney-corners, cracked nuts and told stories.

There were few clocks and watches in town and colony, their places being taken by sundials and hour-glasses; but so regular were the lives of the people that the lack of timepieces made small difference to them. They rose at cock-crowing, Mrs. Booth tells us, breakfasted at dawn, and went about their daily tasks. Dinner was on the table when the sun reached the noon mark. This meal finished, “the worthy Dutch matrons would array themselves in their best linsey jackets and petticoats, and, putting a half-finished stocking into the capacious pocket which hung from their girdle, with scissors, pin-cushion, and keys outside their dress, sally forth to a neighbor’s house to spend the afternoon. Here they plied their knitting-

needles and their tongues at the same time, discussed the village gossip, settled their neighbors' affairs to their own satisfaction, and finished their stockings in time for tea, which was on the table at six o'clock. This was the occasion for the display of the family plate and the cups of rare old china, out of which the guests sipped the fragrant bohea, sweetening it by an occasional bite from the huge lump of loaf sugar which was laid invariably by the side of each plate, while they discussed the hostess's apple-pies, doughnuts, and waffles. Tea over, the party donned their cloaks and hoods, for bonnets were not, and set out for home in order to be in time to superintend the milking and look after their household affairs before bed-time," which came at precisely nine o'clock.

Mrs. Booth also tells us that the dress of these buxom dames "consisted of a jacket of cloth or silk, and a number of short petticoats of every stuff and color, quilted in fanciful figures. If the pride of the Dutch matrons lay in their beds and linen, that of the Dutch maidens lay equally in their elaborately wrought petticoats, which were their own handiwork, and often constituted their only dowry. They wore blue, red, and green worsted stockings of their own knitting,

with particolored clocks, together with high-heeled leather shoes. Considerable jewelry was in use among them in the shape of rings and brooches, and girdle-chains of gold and silver were much affected by fashionable belles. These were attached to the richly bound Bibles and hymn-books and suspended from the belt outside the dress, thus forming an ostentatious Sunday decoration. For necklaces they wore numerous strings of gold beads; and the poorer classes, in humble imitation, encircled their throats with steel and glass beads and strings of Job's tears, the fruit of a plant thought to possess some medicinal virtues."

Laborers and artisans went clad in blouses or in jackets and in wide, baggy breeches; but the male gentry wore the same rich raiment as did their brethren of the Old World,—“long-waisted coats, with skirts reaching almost to the ankles, vests with large flaps, and numerous pairs of breeches. The coats and vests were trimmed with large silver buttons and decorated with lace. The low-crowned hats were made of beaver, and caps of fur and taffeta were also much in vogue. Though this costume was somewhat ponderous, the men do not appear to have fallen behind the women in extravagance

in dress. Taffeta, plush, and velvet were the favorite materials for their habiliments; their shoe-buttons and buckles were of solid silver, and they sported silver-hilted small-swords and ivory-mounted canes." Their work-a-day garb, however, "was of good substantial homespun. Every household had from two to six spinning-wheels for wool and flax, whereon the women of the family expended every leisure moment. Looms, too, were in common use, and piles of homespun cloth and snow-white linen attested to the industry of the active Dutch maidens. Hoards of home-made stuffs were thus accumulated in the settlement, sufficient to last till a distant generation."

There were no idlers in the New Amsterdam of Stuyvesant's time, yet the Dutch were a pleasure-loving people, and found leisure for an abundance of homely and hearty sports. Dancing was a favorite amusement, and every extra task was made the occasion for a social gathering, this in obedience to the ancient maxim that "many hands make light work." Thus there were quilting-bees, apple-bees, husking-bees, and raising-bees, whereat, the allotted task completed, the workers sat down to a bountiful meal and ended the evening with a merry

dance. Each family had holidays of its own, such as birthdays and marriage anniversaries, and there were, besides, five national festivals which were observed throughout town and colony. These were Christmas, New Year, Easter, Whitsuntide, and St. Nicholas, or Christ-Kinkle Day. The women of New Amsterdam on New-Year's Day decorated their houses with all the skill at their command, and in silk and taffeta welcomed the dignitaries of the town. No gentleman who counted himself eligible to good society failed to call on every lady of his acquaintance on the first day of the year. The custom grew in popularity with the growth of the city, and as the English and the French contributed to the increasing population they adopted it with especial zest. Other cities in more recent times have borrowed it from New York, until it seems to have found favor in almost every place of any size on the continent.

Christmas and Christ-Kinkle, however, were the days best beloved by the little folks, if not by those of a larger growth. While the Puritans of New England banned Santa Claus, the Dutch of New Amsterdam gladly welcomed and honored him. Tradition, in fact, has it that the figure of St. Nicholas presided as the figure-



SMIT'S VLY IN EARLY TIMES—PRESENT FOOT OF MAIDEN LANE.



head of the ship that brought the first settlers to Manhattan Island, and he was esteemed the patron saint of the city, giving his name, as we know, to the first church built within its walls. As the little village grew into a town, the yearly celebration of Christmas was endorsed by the authorities and the whole business of the community suspended, not only for one day, but for several days in succession, even all unnecessary household work being laid aside until the end of the holiday season. Church and houses were trimmed with evergreens, and these, as a rule, were not removed until Candlemas. Joy ruled the hour, and old and young, grave and gay, joined in all manner of cheerful games as well as boisterous revels. Among the records of the burgomasters and schepens are several paragraphs showing that the peppery Stuyvesant frowned upon not a few of the practices in vogue, on one occasion tartly refusing to allow some of the people who had sought his consent to "ride the goose" at one of the annual feasts. But family reunions, exchange of presents, and home frolics were never omitted, even in the director's household.

Santa Claus, in the minds of the Dutch youngsters, was a rotund, rosy-cheeked old man, with

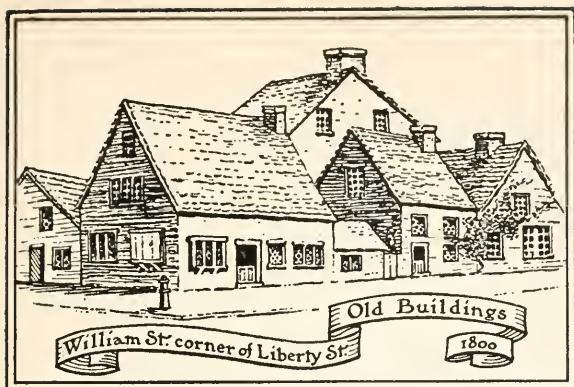


a low-crowned hat, a pair of Flemish trunk hose, and a pipe of surprising length, who drove his reindeer sleigh loaded with gifts from the frozen regions of the North over the roofs of the sleeping town, and stole down each chimney to fill with toys the stockings of all good children, while the Christmas-tree was adopted in New Amsterdam long before its appearance in any other colony. Carpers tell us that the legend and the custom of the olden time are slowly passing away, but those who hold the illusions of childhood in loving and grateful memory prefer to believe that the day is still far distant when kindly saint and bursting tree will cease to have a foremost place in the Yule-tide rejoicings of the modern city.

*SECTION TWO*

THE SWAY  
OF  
THE ENGLISH





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## V

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### *The Rule of the Stuarts*

JAMES STUART, Duke of York, was a man of narrow mind and faulty vision, and he,\* and those who served him, did not, it is safe to say, have clear conception of the fateful issues bound up in the transfer of New Amsterdam from Dutch to English rule. Thoughts of gain, not of empire, were what most filled their minds. Men of a later time, however, know that few changes have been greater in their consequences. English control of the Hudson River country sounded the knell of French rule in America; while, at the same time, as Fiske has pointed out, by assuring unity

of political development in the chain of colonies stretched along the Atlantic seaboard, it laid wide and deep the foundation whereon in after years was to be erected an enduring federal union.

Thus it was that Richard Nicolls, first of the Stuart governors of New York, builded better than he knew. Though some of his acts caused the provincials to grumble and protest, as when for instance he reserved to himself the appointment of all municipal officials, a prerogative which the citizens some years before had finally wrested from the stubborn and reluctant Stuyvesant, tact and moderation in the main shaped his course as governor. All classes were protected alike in person and property; and the better part of a year passed before the city government was reorganized, in accordance with English customs, by replacing the schout, burgo-masters, and schepens with a sheriff, aldermen, and mayor. This change was made in June, 1665, and at the same time there was promulgated a code, known as "The Duke's Laws," which proved to be liberal both in letter and spirit. The burghers of the town complained, not without reason, when Nicolls summoned only the people of Long Island and

Westchester, where the English were in a majority, to consider his new code, and they objected to the establishment of trial by jury, preferring their own simpler ways of securing justice; but all heartily approved the clause in the code which provided that no Christian should be in any wise molested for his religious opinions. Nor did the introduction of the Church of England and its service prove a source of friction. Here again conciliation was the watchword, and for a time Dutch domine and English chaplain made common use of the church within the fort, the one occupying it in the morning and the other in the afternoon. The peace of Breda, signed in 1667, formally ceded New Netherland to the English, in exchange for Surinam, and in the following year, private affairs demanding his presence in England, Nicolls resigned the governorship. He died a soldier's death at the battle of Solebay, in 1672, but his generous nature caused him to be long held in grateful memory by the people of New York, and he remains, after the lapse of years, a winning figure in the early history of the town.

Nicolls was succeeded by Colonel Francis Lovelace, an energetic and well-meaning man, under whose rule the affairs of town and colony

continued to prosper. Not a few of his acts made for their growth and betterment. One established a Merchant's Exchange, whose meetings were held on Friday mornings at about where Exchange Place now crosses Broad Street, and he also set afoot a regular monthly mail service between New York and Boston. This latter event, so big with promise for the future, is, perhaps, best described in a letter sent by Lovelace to Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut. "I here present you," he wrote, "with two rarities, a packet of the latest intelligence I could meet withal, and a post. By the first you will see what has been acted on the stage of Europe; by the latter you will meet with a monthly fresh supply: so that if it receive but the same ardent inclinations from you as at first it hath from myself, by our monthly advisos all public occurrences may be transmitted between us, together with several other great conveniences of public importance, consonant to the commands laid upon us by his sacred majesty, who strictly enjoins all his American subjects to enter into a close correspondence with each other. This I look upon as the most compendious means to beget a mutual understanding; and that it may receive all the countenance from you for its

future duration, I shall acquaint you with the model I have proposed; and if you please but to make an addition to it, or subtraction, or any other alteration, I shall be ready to comply with you. This person that has undertaken the employment I conceived most proper, being both active, stout, and indefatigable. He is sworn as to his fidelity. I have affixed an annual salary on him, which, together with the advantage of his letters and other small portable packs, may afford him a handsome livelihood. Hartford is the first stage I have designed him to change his horse, where constantly I expect he should have a fresh one lie. All the letters outward shall be delivered gratis, with a signification of Post Paid on the superscription; and reciprocally, we expect all to us free. Each first Monday of the month he sets out from New York, and is to return within the month from Boston to us again. The mail has divers bags, according to the towns the letters are designed to, which are all sealed up till their arrivement, with the seal of the secretary's office, whose care it is on Saturday night to seal them up. Only by-letters are in an open bag, to dispense by the ways. Thus you see the scheme I have drawn to promote a happy correspondence. I shall only beg of you your



furtherance to so universal a good work; that is to afford him directions where and to whom to make his application upon his arrival at Boston; as likewise to afford him what letters you can to establish him in that employment there. It would be much advantageous to our design, if in the interval you discoursed with some of the most able woodmen, to make out the best and most facile way for a post, which in process of time would be the king's best highway; as likewise passages and accommodation at rivers, fords, or other necessary places."

The first mail from New York for Boston, which was also the first on the American continent, started on New-Year's Day, 1673. The postman, threading bridle-path and Indian trail, carried in his bags the germ and prophecy of our present postal system, and was the harbinger of a force which in a few score years was to "beget a mutual understanding" between the colonies, and help to weld the federal union. Lovelace, however, was not long permitted to direct the working of his hopeful enterprise. The third naval war between England and Holland was then in progress, and on August 8, 1673, a Dutch fleet of three-and-twenty ships, commanded by Admirals Evertsen and Binckes,

which had been cruising in the West Indies to harass the English, dropped anchor in New York harbor. Lovelace being absent from the town, the English commander in the fort sought to make terms with the invaders, but they would listen to nothing but instant and unconditional surrender. "We have come for our own," said the grim old sea-dogs, "and our own we will have." The Dutch militia would not fight against their countrymen, and so, after a brief exchange of volleys between garrison and fleet, in which a few lives were lost, the English flag was struck and the fort surrendered to the Dutch troops, who had already effected a landing. There was little delay in undoing the work of the ousted English. Anthony Colve, a captain of infantry, was made governor of the province, which resumed its old name of New Netherland, and in the city, now called New Orange, schout, burgomasters, and schepens again took the place of sheriff, aldermen, and mayor.

Colve proved a most energetic ruler. He put down with a strong hand all resistance to his authority and transformed the fort—rechristened Fort Frederick William in honor of the new stadtholder—into a formidable defence, mounting nearly two hundred guns. The second

period of Dutch domination, however, lasted only a year and a quarter. The treaty of Westminster, which ended the war, in which England and France were united against Holland, provided for the mutual restitution of all conquered territory: and so, in November, 1674, town and province were again given up to the English. But the return of his countrymen did not carry with it Lovelace's restoration to the governorship. That enterprising worthy had, the while, fallen on evil times. During his period in office he had made many purchases of real estate, mainly paid for with promises, and when the Dutch governor confiscated all of his property, his creditors added insult to injury by having him arrested for debt. Nor, though he was finally allowed to sail in the fleet for Holland, did his troubles end with his departure from America. He had stood loyally by his royal masters alike in disaster and prosperity, but gratitude seldom shaped the conduct of the Stuart princes, and upon his arrival in England his property was again confiscated, this time by the Duke of York, who demanded satisfaction for debts due to himself, amounting, as he claimed, to seven thousand pounds. Lovelace died before his accounts were settled.

The treaty of Westminster transferred New Netherland from the States General to Charles II., but that monarch promptly granted it afresh to his brother; and the Duke of York chose as governor of the province a young and dashing major of dragoons, Edmund Andros by name. The new governor, who brought both ability and energy to his task, at once reinstated the "Duke's Laws" and the English form of government, and in many ways impressed the stamp of a strong personality on province and city. One of his most important acts bestowed on the latter, which had now definitely assumed the name of New York, the sole right to bolt and export flour. No person outside of the city could grind flour for market or pack breadstuffs in any form for sale. The Bolting Act, as it was styled, remained in force from 1678 until 1694, when the country-people, who all along regarded it with extreme disfavor, finally secured its repeal, but not before it had trebled the population of the town and given a prosperous permanency to its foreign commerce. The result of this interdict was to throw the considerable and growing export trade in breadstuffs, mainly with the West Indies, wholly into the hands of the millers and merchants of New York, so that during the

sixteen years that the act remained operative the city revenues more than doubled and the total number of buildings in the town increased from three hundred and eighty-four to nine hundred and eighty-three, two-thirds of which depended in one way or another on the trade in flour, while the port's sailing craft grew from eleven to eighty-five ships and sloops. Fitting it was, in view of the causes of this extraordinary growth, that the arms of New York, granted in 1682, "exhibit, along with the beaver emblematic of the city's commercial beginning, the sails of a windmill and two flour barrels as emblems of the firm foundation upon which its foreign commerce has been reared."

Governor Andros wrought in other ways for the growth and improvement of the town. He compelled the tanners to remove beyond the limits of the city; laid out and graded Broadway for some distance beyond the city wall; sank a number of public wells; saw to it that decrepit houses were torn down or repaired; built a dock and market-house at the foot of Broad Street and a wharf on the East River, and instituted a yearly fair for cattle, grain, and produce, which was held in turn on the Brooklyn shore and on the plain before the fort. He

was also the resolute foe of uncleanness and intemperance, obliging every householder on stated days to set out by the wayside his litter and refuse in barrels or tubs, for the city's carts to take away, and framing an ordinance which provided that if an Indian were to be seen drunk on the street, and the magistrates should be unable to discover where he got his liquor, they were empowered to fine every householder on the street. It would be interesting to know whether this drastic edict was more honored in the breach than in the observance.

Andros, in matters which concerned the political rights of the colonists, sometimes did well, but more often did ill. A stubborn love of liberty was common to both of the races which made up the bulk of the populace, and it had been the hope of a majority that the first change from Dutch to English rule would result in self-government with a regular legislative assembly. Nothing had come of this hope under Nicolls and Lovelace. Both of these men were loyal servants of their master, and James Stuart held to the view that popular assemblies were dangerous and useless institutions. Delay, however, only made the colonists more insistent in their demands, and no sooner was Andros installed in

his office than they renewed their petition for an assembly. Again it was denied, and the rule of the Stuart governor continued without constitutional check.

The policy of the Duke of York was a mistaken one, especially when it had to do with a stiff-necked people; and it had turbulent issue when, early in 1681, Andros, summoned home to answer complaints against his energetic methods that had found their way across the sea, sailed for England, leaving the colony in charge of Anthony Brockholls, the weak and inefficient lieutenant-governor. The duke's customs' duties, imposed in 1677 for three years, had expired a few weeks before, and Andros had neglected to renew them by special ordinance. This oversight supplied the discontented with a weapon of which they made quick and effective use. Brockholls doubted his authority to renew the ordinance, and failed to take decisive action. Whereupon many of the merchants refused to pay, and when William Dyer, the duke's collector of customs, detained sundry goods for non-payment of duties, he was indicted for high treason, in that he had demanded the payment of taxes not legally due, and was ordered to be tried by a special court. Dyer pleaded that he

had acted under the duke's commission, and as this could not be gainsaid, he was presently sent to England for trial, and the port was left without a collector. Dyer, upon his arrival in London, was duly examined by the king's legal advisers, who decided that he had "done nothing amiss," and ere long he was sent back to New York to be "surveyor-general of his majesty's customs in the American Plantations."

Meanwhile, however, the colonists, emboldened by their success in ridding themselves of a troublesome official, had renewed their demand for a legislative assembly. A New York grand jury formally presented to the court that the lack of such an assembly was a grievance; which view was promptly adopted by the court, the judges whereof accepted it as their own and forwarded to the duke a petition drawn up by the high sheriff of Long Island. This document declared government without representation to be an intolerable burden upon the colonists, called attention to the freer and more flourishing colonies by which New York was flanked on either hand, and prayed that thereafter the province should be ruled by a governor, council, and assembly, the latter to be elected by the colonial freeholders. The sequel proved this petition to



have been happily timed. The duke, when it reached him, discouraged by the stoppage of the collection of taxes, was seriously considering the sale of his unproductive province to whoever would offer a fair price for it; but the counsel of William Penn caused him to adopt another course. "Sell New York?" said the worthy Quaker. "Don't think of such a thing. Just give it self-government, and there will be no more trouble." And the duke, in one of his gracious moods, concluded to take Penn's advice.

Accordingly, Andros, who had readily satisfied the duke as to his official conduct, was made a gentleman of the king's chamber and presented with a long lease of the island of Alderney, while in his place Colonel Thomas Dongan, a Roman Catholic Irishman, of high birth and character, and of unusual capacity, was made governor of New York, with instructions to call the long-hoped-for general assembly of the people. Dongan, who was to prove himself the best of the colonial governors of New York, reached his post in April, 1683, and in October of the same year the provincial assembly, which he had promptly summoned, convened in Fort James. The assembly included, besides the governor and ten councillors of his own choosing, eighteen

representatives elected by the freeholders, and its first important act was to frame a Charter of Liberties, which ordained "that supreme legislative power should forever reside in the governor, council, and people, met in general assembly; that every freeholder and freeman might vote for representatives without restraint; that no freeman should suffer but by judgment of his peers, and that all trials should be by a jury of twelve men; that no tax should be assessed on any pretence whatever, but by the consent of the assembly; that no seaman or soldier should be quartered on the inhabitants against their will; that no martial law should exist; and that no person professing faith in God, by Jesus Christ, should at any time be in any way disquieted or questioned for any difference of opinion in matters of religion." This charter, a real and very long step towards self-government,—the longest, indeed, yet taken in any of the colonies,—was sent to England for the duke's approval. It was duly signed by him, but still awaited delivery, when, in 1685, the death of Charles II. made the duke king and New York a royal province, a change which, as will presently appear, altered his purpose towards his whilom domain. Nevertheless, the government of New York was car-

ried on under its provisions for several years. Another important act of the first provincial assembly conferred full rights of citizenship upon all white citizens who should take the oath of allegiance. This was designed to benefit the Huguenots, who were then being expelled from France by Louis XIV., and who by thousands sought an asylum in America.

Governor Dongan, while directing with statesmanlike hand the affairs of the colony as a whole,—not the least of his tasks was to cultivate friendly relations with the Iroquois, and make them defenders of the northern frontier, already threatened by the French masters of Canada,—also showed watchful regard for the welfare of its capital town. Thus in April, 1686, New York received from him the charter that still forms the basis of its civic rights. The governor, under this instrument, retained the appointment of the mayor and sheriff, but the city was allowed a large quantity of real estate, from some of which it draws a revenue to the present day, while the aldermen were elected by the freeholders of the six wards into which the town had been recently divided, and enacted by-laws for its government. To complete the story of New York's corporate development, it should be

added that the Dongan charter, amended by Queen Anne in 1708, was further enlarged by George II., in 1730, into the Montgomery Charter, which, confirmed by the assembly of the province in 1732, made New York virtually a free city. The mayor until the Revolution was appointed by the governor in council, until 1821 by the governor of the State and four members of the council of appointment, and then for thirteen years by the common council of the city. Since 1834 he has been chosen by the people.

Governor Dongan had, besides breadth and sagacity of mind, tact, magnetism, and the blithe humor and ready wit of his race. Wherever he went he won all hearts, and never was king better served than morose James II. by his Irish governor of New York. But already there was preparing another crisis in the history of colonial America. James Stuart, once upon the throne, resolved to make himself absolute master of his colonies as well as of the mother-country. With this purpose in mind, in the spring of 1688 New England, New York, and New Jersey, which a dozen years before had been separated from its parent colony, were thrown into one province. Their several charters, including New York's half-granted one, which the king, on second

thought, had decided to be "too liberal," were abolished, and all the colonists put under the control of a single royal governor. Major Andros, who had now been knighted and made Sir Edmund, was sent over to assume the governorship, while Dongan, who would have had no relish for so sorry a business, went home to Ireland, to become in due time Earl of Limerick.

It is a familiar story how Sir Edmund took in hand the task cut out for him, serving all too faithfully a master whom Englishmen were already preparing to pull from his throne; but it is a story that has a quick ending. Before the year was out William of Orange landed in Devonshire. The coming of another spring found the last Stuart king an exile beyond the sea and the luckless governor of New England lodged in a Boston jail.

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## VI

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### *Leisler's Rise & Fall*

WHEN in April, 1689, word reached America that the crown of England had passed from James II. to his daughter and her husband, and Sir Edmund Andros, from the windows of his prison, saw the governmental fabric he had created in the provinces perish almost in a day, charge of affairs in New York fell into the hands of the lieutenant-governor, Francis Nicholson, and the way was cleared for the making of a story more full of human interest and pathos than any other of colonial times. It is a story generally misunderstood, and seldom set forth with fairness; and if the present chronicle runs counter to most of those dealing with the subject, it is because study of contemporary documents has made the writer an honest admirer of its central figure and of the cause for which he paid the last full measure of devotion.

That spring of 1689, so memorable for what it gave to England, was a time of palpable, ominous foreboding in the colonies. James II. was

a Roman Catholic, and it had been his cherished, if secret, resolve to force that faith upon his American subjects. Now, though an exile, his cause had been championed by another zealous propagandist of Romanism, Louis XIV. of France. The latter, in May, 1689, declared war against England and Holland, and the presence in Canada of Frontenac and his fellows had already taught the English colonists that the French king had long arms. Nowhere did his declaration of war, with its threat of persecution for conscience' sake, arouse more anxious fears than in New York, with its mingled population of Dutch and English and of Huguenot refugees. Nicholson, the lieutenant-governor, was not the sort of man to allay these fears or to cope with a crisis. A sluggish wit and an irresolute will made him reluctant to assume responsibility, and he could get no word to or from his chief, the imprisoned Andros. Moreover, it was known that he had lately commanded a regiment of the king's troops made up of Irish Catholics, and many of the townsfolk believed him to be a "Papist" in disguise.

Most of the men who had held office under King James were also regarded with suspicion, and only a spark was needed to kindle the dis-

trust into flame. This was supplied when Nicholson, at the first rumor of war, took into his own keeping the money collected as revenue, and gave orders that all receipts after May-day should be applied to building new fortifications. A majority saw in Nicholson's acts a covert scheme for using the public money against the people and to aid the cause of the exiled king; and there was loud and earnest rejoicing when Jacob Leisler, a leading merchant, refused to pay the duty on a cargo of wine lately arrived from Europe, giving as ground for his refusal that Matthew Plowman, collector of the port, was a Roman Catholic, and that since the flight of King James no duly authorized government existed in New York. Leisler was a German, married to a Dutch wife. He had been in early manhood a soldier in the pay of the Dutch West India Company, and was now senior captain of the five train-bands which made up the militia force of New York. For thirty years he had been a resident of the town, active in its religious and social affairs, and his rugged honesty and generous, open-handed ways had made him honored and beloved of the common people. There were two sentiments which he shared with them. Himself a deacon in the Dutch church, he was



also the son of a clergyman, who, when driven out of the Palatinate by the French wars, ministered to other refugees from Catholic persecution at Frankfort-on-the-Main, and he had thus imbibed in his youth a hatred of "Papists," which became and remained one of the dominant influences of his life. He shared also in the general discontent aroused by long-continued arbitrary taxation, and the demand for representative government brought to naught when King James cancelled the Charter of Liberties which he had permitted to take effect while he was still Duke of York. Than Leisler none realized more clearly what the colonists might hope for from William and Mary, as well as what they needs must dread at the hands of the French king, and also at those of James II., should the latter be restored to the English throne.

Thus it was that Leisler's political and religious leanings, coupled with his resolute and energetic character, marked him as a leader of the popular party, which, moved by resentment and alarm, was about to take control of affairs into its own hands. His refusal to pay duties was followed by other refusals, while the suspicion and ill-will with which Nicholson was

generally regarded were given more acute form by the rumor that a French fleet was about to attack the town and that Nicholson had been in consultation with agents of Louis XIV. in hiding on Staten Island. The crisis came on May 30, when the lieutenant-governor quarrelled with an officer in one of the train-bands, which a short time before had been directed to take turns in guarding Fort James. "Who commands this fort, you or I?" he angrily asked, adding, "I would rather see the city on fire than take the impudence of such fellows as you." Word went forth that Nicholson had threatened to burn the town. Next morning a crowd of citizens, followed by the five train-bands, surrounded the house of Leisler and induced him to lead a movement for the seizure of the fort, which was taken without resistance. The people now openly divided into two factions, the Leislerian party, made up of the small shop-keepers, sailors, shipwrights, and artisans of the town; and the Aristocratic party, whose leaders had been office-holders under King James. The former met and chose a Committee of Safety of ten members,—English, Dutch, and Huguenots,—who appointed Leisler captain of the fort and invested him with the power of commander-in-

chief until orders should arrive from the new sovereigns. It was agreed at the same time that the militia should guard the custom-house and that the five train-bands should in turn hold the fort for William and Mary.

Meanwhile, Nicholson and his party had not been idle. Three members of the governor's council were then in New York,—Stephanus van Cortlandt, mayor of the town; Nicholas Bayard, colonel of the train-bands; and Frederick Philipse, the richest man in the province. These hastily foregathered with Nicholson. Had they shown a willingness to co-operate with the Committee of Safety all might have been well. Instead they resolved to resist it, and, as a first counter-measure, sought to remove the public money from the fort to the house of Philipse. Leisler refused to deliver it to their order, and failure also attended their efforts to secure the custom-house revenue, for the Committee of Safety, besides placing a guard at the custom-house, had already appointed their own collector and sent armed men on board all vessels in port. The train-bands gathered on Bowling Green also refused to disperse at the command of Bayard, their colonel, while, later in the day, one of their captains, at the head of his company,

waited on Nicholson and his councillors in the City Hall and demanded the surrender of the keys of the fort. It was evident that resistance would be useless, and so the keys were given to him. Three days after these events a "declaration" was drawn up by Leisler, in which, basing his right to power upon the support of the people, he announced his purpose to hold the fort until King William should send some properly accredited person to take command. It was duly read to the assembled populace and greeted with cheers. The following week the discredited Nicholson sailed for England, leaving Bayard, Philipse, and Van Cortlandt the only representatives of royal authority in the province.

The government was thus left wholly in the hands of Leisler and his followers. Nor did the neighboring colonies long delay recognition of his authority. Before the end of June there came from the magistrates of Massachusetts, displaced by Andros, but now reinstated by the people, a message applauding his conduct, and at the same time the General Court of Connecticut sent deputies to congratulate him upon his success and to promise aid, should it be needed. These deputies brought news of the proclamation of the new sovereigns in England and at

Hartford. Leisler at once had them proclaimed at the sound of the trumpet, gave orders that Fort James should be rechristened Fort William, and sent a letter to the king which explained all his acts, asked that they be sanctioned, and begged that orders for the government of the province might be sent. This request, be it said, was earnestly repeated in subsequent letters despatched to England, and all the evidence goes to show that Leisler's purpose from first to last was to serve loyally the new sovereigns.

That he was upheld in this purpose by the people was shown when a new Committee of Safety, drawn from a convention which he had called, appointed him commander-in-chief of the whole province. The people of Albany refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Leisler; but Long Island, Westchester, and Orange recognized his authority; and during the summer and autumn of 1689 he directed affairs with an energy and breadth of vision which indicate that under happier conditions he might have been one of the very best governors of the colonial period. Finally, in December came the long-expected message from William's government. It was in the form of a letter addressed to Nicholson or "in his absence to such as for the time

being take care for preserving the peace and administering the laws in our said province of New York in America."

Nicholson, as we know, had abandoned his post and returned to England, arriving there before the letter was sent, but not before it was prepared. Bayard and the other councillors to whom he had deputed his authority sought to secure possession of the letter, but Leisler laid claim to it on the ground that the people, refusing to recognize the authority deputed to Bayard and his fellows, had put him at the head of affairs. There was a heated dispute, with many epithets given and taken; but in the end the king's messenger delivered the letter to Leisler. "We do hereby authorize and empower you," ran the royal command, which bore date July 30, 1689, "to take upon you the government of the said province, calling to your assistance in the administration thereof the principal freeholders and inhabitants of the same, or so many of them as you shall think fit." It was, under the circumstances, a natural line of reasoning which led Leisler to believe that, as the people had had a right to make him the guardian of their interests in a time of confusion and peril, so had he the right to receive and act upon

the king's instructions. All his subsequent words and deeds were based upon this belief, and in reports sent to England he took care to explain how and why he had claimed the letter, though the councillors of the deposed king had "pretended thereunto."

When this document first came into his hands, Leisler, acting upon the advice of the Committee of Safety, assumed the title of lieutenant-governor, and named a council of eight men to aid him in the government. The popular impulse that brought him into power had lost none of its force, but the opposition to his rule, led by Nicholas Bayard, his sworn personal and political foe, was active, selfish, and unscrupulous, and, though he sought at all times to respect the forms of law, he was forced by the exigencies of a difficult task into many arbitrary acts. Thus troubles began to thicken about him. A street riot, plotted by his enemies, and from which Leisler narrowly escaped with his life, bore fruit in warrants for the arrest of Van Cortlandt, Bayard, and other of its fomenters. Van Cortlandt made good his escape, but Bayard and William Nicolls, attorney-general of the province, were arrested and thrown into prison, whence they issued at the end of many

months to wreak terrible vengeance upon their jailer.

Outside the city the leaders of the opposition to Leisler were Peter Schuyler, mayor of Albany, and the latter's brother-in-law, Robert Livingston. Jacob Milborne, a young Englishman of liberal impulses, who had long been Leisler's friend and was soon to marry his daughter, was despatched to Albany in the late autumn of 1689 to induce its submission, but failed in his errand through the influence of Schuyler and Livingston, both men of unusual capacity and both inimical to the forces which had placed Leisler in authority. A few weeks later, however, came Frontenac's descent from Canada upon the northern frontier, and the burning, with wholesale massacre and capture, of the outpost village of Schenectady. The people of near-by Albany were brought by the news of this disaster to a quick and clear realization of their own danger from the French and their Indian allies, and when Milborne was again sent up the river, this time with one hundred and sixty men to aid in defending the town, Fort Orange was surrendered into his hands.

Leisler was now secure in his control of the province. His next step marks a mile-stone in



colonial history, for in the early spring of 1690 he summoned a congress of the northern colonies to concert measures of attack upon Canada. This congress, modest forerunner of the great Continental Congress of after years, assembled in New York on May 1, and it was agreed as a result of its deliberations that the task of invading Canada should be divided between New York, Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and Maryland. The several contingents were to number a little more than eight hundred men, and the Iroquois promised the aid of eighteen hundred warriors. A part of the expedition under Sir William Phipps, of Massachusetts, ascended the St. Lawrence and besieged Quebec; while the other half, under Fitz-John Winthrop, of Connecticut, marched from Albany towards Montreal. But both commanders found more than their match in Frontenac, and were compelled to turn homeward baffled and discomfited.

While these events were occurring on this side of the sea, Leisler's enemies had been busy at court. The most active of these was the whilom lieutenant-governor, Nicholson, who, following his arrival in England, had not ceased to denounce Leisler to the king as an ambitious usurper, moved by hatred of the Church of Eng-

land and the betterment of his personal fortunes, rather than devotion to the Prince of Orange. Thus a wrong construction was placed upon the letters of Leisler, written in imperfect English,—a language which he both wrote and spoke badly,—and royal audience was denied to his friend Joost Stoll, whom he had despatched to England to render a full account of affairs to the king and his ministers. Finally, the king showed his regard for Nicholson by making him lieutenant-governor of Virginia. About the same time Colonel Henry Sloughter was appointed to be governor of New York. This appointment boded ill for the man whom Sloughter was to succeed, for common report had it that the new governor was a poor and mercenary adventurer, whose need for and love of money might be counted on to render him a willing tool in the hands of the rich traders, patroons, and ex-royal officials who made up the party opposed to Leisler.

In December, 1690, Sloughter, whose advent had not been announced to the people he was to rule, sailed from England with several ships and a considerable body of troops. His own ship was driven by stress of weather to Bermuda, where it had to wait for repairs, and

one of his subordinates, Major Richard Ingoldsby, reached New York in January, 1691, some weeks in advance of him. A small force of soldiers came with Ingoldsby, who, having announced the appointment of Sloughter, demanded the surrender of the fort for their accommodation. Leisler knew that to surrender the fort would be to hand over the civil power as well, and that to make such a transfer, save to a properly accredited official, would be to confess that from the first he had had no right to his power. He therefore refused to yield the fort to Ingoldsby without a written order from the king or the governor. Ingoldsby, however, had no authority to represent the governor or to exercise his powers. Instead, he had only his major's commission giving him command of a portion of the troops sent out and ordering him to submit himself to the ruler of the province.

The moral advantage was clearly with Leisler, who, while steadfastly refusing to deliver the fort to Ingoldsby until he could produce a royal commission, ordered the soldiers to be quartered in the City Hall and besought the citizens not to molest them. But Ingoldsby, whose ear had been instantly gained by the enemies of Leisler, blockaded the fort by land and sea, shut out sup-



OLD JEWISH BURYING-GROUND IN THE NEW BOWERLY



plies, and endeavored in a score of ways to provoke Leisler to open combat. A clash of arms, under such conditions, was sure to come, but it is probable that the first shots exchanged between the fort and the king's troops were fired by the latter, while there is proof that when Ingoldsby's soldiers were fired upon as they were returning one night to their ship, Leisler made every effort to detect and punish the offenders. The most serious collision between Leisler's followers and the royal troops, in which several were killed and wounded, occurred on March 17.

In the early evening of the second day after this collision the ship of the long-delayed Slaughter arrived at the Narrows. Van Cortlandt and others of his party hastened down the bay to protest their fidelity to the new governor, and Slaughter, although he had been commanded by the king to examine strictly and impartially "into the state of affairs in New York and to render a true and faithful account thereof," lent as ready an ear to their charges against Leisler as had his subordinate, Ingoldsby. A few hours later he came ashore, and, flanked by the bitter enemies of the man he was about to replace, made his way to the City Hall, where he read aloud his commission

as royal governor and took the oath of office. It was now close upon midnight, but despite the lateness of the hour, Ingoldsby was despatched to demand the immediate surrender of the fort. Leisler, suspecting a snare, refused to comply with this demand until a written order from the king was shown him. This condition was in keeping with the attitude he had held for the better part of two years. He clearly understood the peril of his position, and that to surrender the fort without first securing recognition of the fact that his course had been that of a loyal and regularly appointed temporary guardian of the royal interests would be to confess that all his acts had been unlawful, and to place his life in the power of men bent upon his undoing. Leisler's message being reported to Sloughter, Ingoldsby was ordered a second time to take possession of the fort. Again Leisler refused to surrender it, but sent Milborne to make terms. Sloughter would listen to no explanations. Instead, he put Milborne in irons, and sent Ingoldsby a third time to take possession of the fort, which was again refused him.

It was now clear to Leisler that he could expect no recognition from Sloughter, and so early the next morning he sent a letter to the latter

surrendering the fort and praying that he might be treated in the way due to a person ready to give "an exact account of all his actions and conduct." No heed was taken of the letter. Instead, Ingoldsby was again sent to the fort, whose garrison, at the promise of a full and free pardon for their part in the late proceedings, grounded arms and deserted their leader. Then Bayard and Nicolls were released from their cell in the guard-house, and Leisler cast into it. Meantime, the members of the new governor's council, who had been appointed before he left England, had taken the oath of office. Among them were Philipse, Van Cortlandt, and Nicolls, all sworn foes of Leisler, and that Joseph Dudley who had been the right hand of Andros in Boston, and who had lately declared to the people of New England that the only liberty left them was that of not being sold as slaves. It was before a court presided over by Dudley and made up in the main of men bitterly hostile to Leisler that the latter with Milborne and other of his adherents was on March 13 brought for trial. The prisoners were charged with treason and murder; and how grievously justice was outraged in their trial is shown in the fact that the indictment to which they were called upon



to plead falsely set forth that they had "forcibly held" the fort, not against Ingoldsby, but against Slougher himself, and that shots had been fired from it after, instead of before, his arrival. Some of their comrades were tried and condemned upon evidence; but Leisler and Milborne denied the competency of the court, contending that it belonged to the king himself to declare whether the former had acted upon legal authority. They refused, therefore, to plead, and were as "mutes" condemned to death.

Though Slougher had fallen under the empire of the Aristocratic party, there is little doubt that at this point, left to himself, he would gladly have stayed his hand. He refused at first to sign the death-warrant of Leisler and Milborne, made ready to pardon their associates, and permitted them to appeal to the king. But the men who had brought about their condemnation, led by the embittered Bayard and Nicolls, thirsted for their blood, and finally found a way to mould the weak and worthless governor to their purpose. A tradition in existence as early as 1698 has it that Bayard and his friends made a feast for Slougher, and when he was far gone in his cups, cajoled him into signing the death-warrant. Be this as it may, Slougher's signature was

affixed to a warrant which decreed that Leisler and Milborne should be first hung and then beheaded, and in the rain and gloom of a chill May morning they were led forth to die. The gallows stood near the present site of the *World Building*, in Park Row, on Leisler's own ground and in full view of his country-seat. Weeping friends and satisfied foes made up the throng which came to witness the end, met by both men with noble resignation. "So far from revenge do we depart this world," declared Leisler, "that we require and make it our dying request to all our relations and friends that they should in time to come be forgetful of any injury done to us, or either of us, so that on both sides the discord and dissension (which were created by the devil in the beginning) may with our ashes be buried in oblivion, never more to rise up for the trouble of posterity. . . . Why must you die?" said he to Milborne. "You have been but a servant doing my will. What I have done has been but in the service of my king and queen, for the Protestant cause, and for the good of my country; and for this I must die. Some errors I have committed; for these I ask pardon. I forgive my enemies as I hope to be forgiven, and I entreat my children to do the same." Mil-

borne's dying speech was also full of humility and forgiveness, although when he saw Robert Livingston standing near the scaffold, he exclaimed, " You have caused the king that I must now die ; but before God's tribunal I will implead you for the same."

The drop fell, and in another instant Leisler and Milborne had passed into silence. Their bodies were taken down and buried, by Leisler's own request, in his garden near the present site of the *Sun* Building. So perished the first governor of New York who drew his power from the people. Leisler had faults and fell into mistakes, but, as has been aptly said by Mrs. Van Rensselaer, his chief blunder lay in over-estimating the interest the king's government took in its province of New York, and in the willingness of its agents to deal fairly with all New Yorkers. That blunder cost him his life ; but his death, as the sequel proved, only served to quicken the democratic spirit of which he had made himself the champion ; and Americans proud of our brave but modest beginnings will always pronounce with respect a name inseparably associated with the first triumph of democracy in New York and with the calling of the first congress of the colonies.

It is good to know that Leisler left a son proud of his acts and able to defend him. The younger Jacob Leisler prosecuted in due time the appeal which had been denied his father, secured an order for the restoration of his confiscated estate, and finally, in 1698, obtained an act from the Parliament of England which completely rehabilitated the dead man's memory. This act cancelled the judgments of the court in New York, sustained Leisler's course as governor, and declared that he had been confirmed in the power that the people had bestowed upon him by the king's letter of July 30, 1689. Three years afterwards the bodies of Leisler and Milborne, denied funeral honors at the time of execution, were taken from their temporary resting-place, and, after lying in state in the City Hall, were with impressive ceremony reinterred in a burial-ground which stood in what is now Exchange Place. No man knows their present sepulture, nor has New York ever erected a fitting memorial to Leisler's life and work.

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## VII

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### *Privateer & Pirate*

COLONEL SLOUGHTER came to New York charged with orders from King William to give the province a legislative assembly; and his first act after the arrest of Leisler was to issue writs for the election of such an assembly. It met in April, 1691, and, though a majority of its members were of the party opposed to Leisler, and resolutions were passed condemning his acts, its other proceedings gave proof of the democratic spirit which hereafter was to shape the affairs of town and colony. Thus, while declaring its loyalty to William and Mary, it ascribed its own existence to the inherent right of freemen to be governed only through their own representatives, and it limited to a period of two years the appropriation made for public expenditures. It also granted liberty of conscience to all Protestant sects, but not to Roman Catholics.

Sloughter died suddenly in the midsummer of 1691, and Major Ingoldsby acted as governor

until the arrival of Colonel Benjamin Fletcher in August of the following year. The new governor was a brave and capable soldier, but loose of life and morals and wholly unfitted for a civic post. He arrayed himself on the side of the Aristocrats, as opposed to the Leislerians, who had now plucked up heart and were demanding a share in the government, and thus became embroiled in more than one angry dispute with the provincial assembly, in which, though the suffrage was limited by a strict property qualification, the popular party had always its allies and mouth-pieces. Fletcher sought at the same time, by prodigal and wholesale grants of the public lands, to divide the soil of the province among a few rich families, and to build up, at the expense of the settler of small means, a system of great tenant-farmed estates. His grants were made to ministers and churches as well as to laymen, and he abetted private individuals in the acquisition of great tracts of land from the Indians, all, it would seem, with a settled purpose of concentrating wealth and power into the hands of the aristocracy and of the Church of England, of which he was a devoted, if not a consistent member.

The Leislerians protested hotly against

Fletcher's acts and policy, and in 1698 the king recalled him. He was succeeded in the governorship by the Earl of Bellomont, a resolutely honest man, who forthwith attacked with a will the abuses that had sprung up under his predecessor. Bellomont forfeited such of the land-grants made by Fletcher to laymen and clergy as smacked of fraud, and sought, though unsuccessfully, to establish the rule that no person in the province should hold more than one thousand acres. He was also a hearty believer in popular liberty and political equality, and in token of this belief made several of the Leislerian leaders members of his council, and saw to it that the estates of Leisler and Milborne were restored to their families. Thanks also to his influence, the government became Leislerian in all its branches. Bellomont's course earned him the unrelenting hostility of the powerful and favored classes who had profited by Fletcher's questionable acts, but the common people loved and trusted him; and bitter was their regret when, in 1701, he died suddenly, after a short rule of three years. His remains now rest in St. Paul's church-yard.

During the period of political contention and distrust covered by the administrations of

Fletcher, Bellomont, and their immediate successors, the colony's capital town continued to thrive apace. Manufactures as yet were few. Men who went down to the sea in ships formed the bulk of New York's white population, and ocean industries were what mainly contributed to its growth and wealth. The river and coast trade claimed most of its enterprise and activity, but the sea trade with England, Africa, and the Indies held first place, and in those troublous and not over-squeamish times, when commerce was other than the peaceful pursuit it has since become, a promising venture in privateering was often preferred to slower if safer sources of profit by the strong-stomached merchants and mariners of New York.

Whenever, indeed, there was plunder to be had afloat under sanction of law, which was whenever England chanced to be at odds with France or Spain, the ships and captains of New York were sure to have a hand in it; and during the struggles known in history as King William's War and as the war of the Spanish Succession there went out from this port a fleet of fast-sailing and hard-fighting privateers, whose long list of rich prizes gave this industry first place among the sources of the sea-wealth of the town.



Regnier Tongrelo, Thomas Penniston, and Nat Burches were perhaps the best-known privateersmen of their time. Each of this trio was always ready to fight any ship of the enemy that he could get within reach of his guns, and the record of their battles makes as lively reading as is to be found in the whole range of maritime literature. Moreover, they were as troublesome to their friends ashore as they were to their enemies afloat, and much drinking and roistering, with occasional bloodshed, were sure to follow a prosperous return to port. One of the worst of these affairs occurred in September, 1705, when Penniston and his crew came up from the West Indies with a prize sloop laden with wine and brandy, and made haste to dispose of a part of their cargo at first hand. The rest of the story is told in a news-letter of September 25. "On the 19th instant," says the writer, "about ten at night, some of the privateers began a riot before the sheriff's house, assaulted the sheriff without provocation, and beat and wounded several persons who came to his assistance. In a few minutes the privateers tumultuously met together in great numbers, upon which forces were sent out of the fort to suppress them, and the sheriff, officers, and some

men belonging to her majesty's ships made a body to do the same; but before these forces could meet with them, the privateers unhappily met Lieutenant Wharton Featherstone Hough and Ensign Alcock, who were peaceably going home to their lodgings, and barbarously murdered the first and grievously wounded the latter. Just as the fact was done, the privateers were attacked by the sheriff, officers, and seamen of her majesty's ships, and some of the town, and in a short time were obliged to fly. Several of both sides were wounded, and the soldiers killed one of the privateers. It would be tedious," the writer concludes, "to relate the particulars, but their insolence is beyond expression."

Nor in the days when Penniston and his mates gave incident and variety to the life of New York was the line dividing the privateer, who preyed upon certain nations at certain times, from the pirate, who warred against all nations at all times, so sharply defined as to bar the way to quick and generous gains when opportunity offered. It was crossed with ease and without serious prickings of conscience; and many a full-armed, stoutly manned vessel left New York for Madagascar or some other point in the Indian Ocean, there to sell its lading of arms

and gunpowder, cannons and lead, strong spirits and provisions to the followers of the black flag who were wont to rendezvous in those waters,—this at prices that assured manifold returns from the original investment,—and to finally sail homeward laden with such a rich cargo of Oriental wares that no one took the time or trouble to question the whilom owners as to how they had acquired their ill-gotten goods. Indeed, so well did the ship-owners and masters of New York get on with the Red-Sea men, as they were styled in the euphonious speech of the period, that the pirate captain, in rich yet outlandish garb, was a familiar figure in the streets of the town during the last years of the seventeenth century. More often than not he was welcomed as a guest in the houses of many among the merchants and gentry, whose hospitality was based upon the memory of past and the lively hope of future gain to be derived from bargaining with the lawless sea-rover and his fellows. “They are so cherished by the inhabitants,” wrote the Earl of Bellomont in 1699, “that not a man of them is taken up.” They were not only fitted out from New York, but came openly into port with their booty; and on one memorable occasion nine pirate ships lay out-

side the harbor waiting a chance to land their cargoes.

It was quite by accident, however, that the Red-Sea men were made aware of the advantages of New York as a friendly port in which they could fit out their ships and to which they could return with their stolen goods. One William Mason sailed from New York in 1689 on a privateering cruise against the French, but found none of their ships to capture. He thereupon turned pirate, and with such success that at the end of a three years' cruise in the Indian Ocean every man before the mast received the value of eighteen hundred pieces-of-eight as his share of the spoils. Mason's ship returned to America early in 1693, in charge of one Edward Coates, who found it an easy matter to strike with Governor Fletcher a bargain which assured him and his men against punishment for their piratical cruise. The consideration for this assurance was eighteen hundred pounds divided between the governor and the members of his council. Part of the governor's share was the pirate ship, which he sold for the snug sum of eight hundred pounds.

News that piracy under the guise of privateering was winked at by the New York authorities

spread quickly among the captains serving under the black flag. It was welcome, for what with the increased vigilance of French and English warships in southern waters and the defection to the French and English service of many of their ablest leaders, including that Henry Morgan who was knighted for his rascally deeds and made governor of Jamaica, sea-stealing had become a pursuit whose profits were too often purchased with loss of life. A new port of refuge, offering facilities for the transaction of piratical business, had for some time been recognized by its followers as the only thing that could save it from ruin, and immediately many of the most energetic men in the business flocked to New York. Among the first to arrive were Captain Thomas Tew and Captain John Hoar. Tew, who got to town late in 1694, brought with him a well-filled purse and a long and redoubtable record as a pirate in the Indian Ocean. A speaking description of this worthy has come down to us: "A slight, dark man of forty, garbed in a blue cap with a band of cloth of silver; a blue jacket, bordered with gold lace and garnished with large pearl buttons; loose trunks of white linen and curiously worked stockings; while a chain of Arabian gold hung from his neck, and

through the meshes of a knit belt gleamed a dagger, its hilt set with the rarest of gems." Tew was soon hand-in-glove with Governor Fletcher, who gave him the privateering commission against the French for which he asked. Then, with his ship amply provisioned and manned by as fine a company of cutthroats as ever put to sea, he sailed eastward and resumed his piratical career in the Indian Ocean.

Hoar, who reached New York some time in 1695, came from the West Indies, where he had performed lusty service as a buccaneer. He also found it an easy matter to obtain from Fletcher letters of marque against the French, while a score of the town's most respectable merchants made up the syndicate which in due time supplied him with a ship and a crew; whereafter he made sail to the eastward, and began to hack and slash among the ships plying the waters of the Indian seas. The next year the backers of this promising venture fitted out the ship "Fortune," laden with "goods suitable for pirates," and cleared her for Madagascar. There she met Hoar's ship, which had had a most profitable cruise, and having effected an exchange of cargoes, sailed homeward, reaching New York in the summer of 1698. Than this there could not

have been a more admirable arrangement: the New York merchants "did their own piracy in one ship, and in another, as Red-Sea traders, they brought home their piratical loot."

The Hoar venture, however, was an exceptional one. It involved too large an element of risk to tempt the more conservative into similar enterprises, and the merchants of New York were content, as a rule, with the profits to be derived from the regular Red-Sea trade. These, be it said, were usually of a sort to satisfy the most avaricious. Rum sent out at a cost of but two shillings a gallon sold at the piratical rendezvous in Madagascar at fifty shillings, and Madeira wine costing nineteen pounds a pipe in New York sold over there for three hundred pounds; while the booty of the pirates, when brought to New York, was invariably disposed of at a great gain. A single voyage in 1698 of the ship "Nassau," owned by Stephen DeLancey and others, yielded a net profit of some thirty thousand pounds, a goodly part of which sum represented passage-money paid by pirates homeward bound for New York. Perhaps it is not to be wondered at that, cheered by profits like the foregoing, the merchants of New York "were high in the maintenance of the legitimacy

of their trade, contending that they were right in purchasing goods wherever found, and were not put upon inquiry as to the source from which they were derived;" or that they should further urge in their own defence that the vessels sent out by them to Madagascar "were engaged in the pursuit of regular commerce and that they accidentally came upon the ships in that region with which they trafficked for the East India goods brought into this port."

The home government, on the other hand, was minded to take another and very different view of the matter. It failed to look with an approving eye on Fletcher's free-and-easy relations with his piratical friends, and when in April, 1698, that bluff soldier of fortune was succeeded in the governorship by the Earl of Bellomont, the latter came charged with orders to put a quick and sure ending to the Red-Sea trade. But Lord Bellomont, though he had been appointed governor in 1695, did not receive his commission until 1697, and in this interval of waiting, by a strange perversity of fortune, he had played a chief, if an unwitting, part in setting afloat one of the most notable pirates in history,—William Kidd. Frequent conferences in the opening days of 1695 between King Wil-



liam and the members of his council as to the best means of suppressing piracy ended in a decision to make it a private undertaking, and a proposition, Dunlap tells us, "to purchase and arm a ship for this service met encouragement so far that the Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord Chancellor Somers, the Earls of Romney and Oxford, became sharers in the enterprise with Bellomont, the latter taking upon himself the equipment of the vessel." A captain of known honesty and valor was needed, and Robert Livingston, of New York, who was then in London, and who seems to have been a prime mover in the affair, recommended Kidd as the very man for the command. Livingston had good grounds for his recommendation. Kidd, a native of Greenock, in Scotland, had followed the sea from his youth, had proved his bravery as a privateer against the French, and for some years had commanded the packet ship "Antigua," trading between London and New York, where he made his home. He was married in 1691 to Sarah Oort, a widow, and lived with her at what is now No. 56 Wall Street in a style befitting a well-to-do master-mariner. He stood well with his townsmen and there was no smirch upon his name.

Kidd became a member of the Bellomont syn-

dicate, and took shares to the amount of six thousand dollars, Livingston signing his bond for one-half that amount. Then, a total of thirty thousand dollars having been subscribed and a thirty-six-gun frigate, the "Adventure," duly equipped, he was given letters of marque against the French and a special commission to arrest all pirates wheresoever found and to bring them to trial. The proceeds of the cruise were to be divided among the members of the syndicate, after a royalty of ten per cent. had been reserved for the king, who, although a stockholder in this queer enterprise, never advanced the money for his share; and, to strengthen the bargain, Livingston joined with Kidd in giving a bond to render a strict account of all prizes to Lord Belomont. These details completed, Kidd, with a crew of fifty men, in April, 1696, sailed for New York. He lay at this port long enough to treble his crew, and, finally, after several barren cruises along the Atlantic coast, early in 1697 set sail for Madagascar.

The sequel proved that the errand upon which he set forth had been hatched under an evil star. The voyage to Madagascar consumed nine months and brought the crew to the verge of famine. Moreover, neither pirates nor French

vessels were encountered on the way, nor were any of the former to be found in their usual haunts when the "Adventure" reached Madagascar. Kidd accordingly revictualled and watered his ship, and then sailed for the Malabar coast. Long searching in those waters brought no legitimate prize of any sort, and the crew, which had been recruited on the luckless basis of "no prize, no pay," now demanded that the captain attack and capture the first vessel he should meet. Kidd seems to have been reluctant to yield to this demand, and in one of the disputes with his men he struck and killed a gunner, William Moore. Nevertheless, he gave way in the end to the clamors of the starving and mutinous crew, and the "Adventure," swinging into downright piracy, replaced her ensign with the black flag. The first prizes taken were two or three ships of the Great Mogul, but the most important capture of all, made in January, 1698, was the "Quedah Merchant," a large and richly laden Moorish vessel, owned by Armenian traders and commanded by an English skipper. Kidd carried his prize to the pirate mart in Madagascar, where its cargo fetched a sum equivalent to more than a million dollars of the present day, three-fourths of which was divided

among the crew. Whereafter, his own ship being badly out of repair, he transferred his armament to the "Quedah Merchant" and burned the "Adventure." Then, having lost many of his men by desertion, he enlisted a new crew, and late in 1698 sailed for the West Indies.

News of Kidd's piracies reached London in the autumn of the same year, and before its close a squadron of the king's ships was despatched to the Indian Ocean, charged with the apprehension of Kidd and his fellows and of all other unrepentant pirates. Kidd, however, was already well on his way across the Atlantic, and it was not until he made Anguilla, the most northerly of the Carribee Islands, that he learned he had been excepted by name from the provisions of a recently issued royal proclamation offering free pardon to all pirates who would surrender themselves for acts committed before May-day of 1699. He was thus singled out for punishment, not because his conduct had been more heinous than that of other pirate captains, but for the reason that it reflected most seriously upon the group of noblemen who had sent him to the East Indies,—Bellomont, Somers, Oxford, Shrewsbury, and even King William himself,—and who were promptly charged by their

Tory opponents with having a pirate in their employ. Lord Chancellor Somers was threatened with impeachment, and he and his associates saw that the only way in which they could free themselves from odium was by washing their hands of their whilom agent.

Kidd at first did not fully grasp the fatal import of these facts, but being aware, as Valentine considerably phrases it, "that under the best explanations he could give of his conduct he would be greatly censured," he took care to test his chances for securing immunity from punishment before he ventured into any port under English control. He first chartered a sloop called the "Antonio," belonging to a man named Bolton, which he encountered off Hispaniola, and which he sent to Curaçoa for needed supplies. After that he bought the sloop out and out, mounted her with six guns, transferred himself and his choicest valuables to her, and with a small crew started northward upon a spying expedition. The "Quedah Merchant" was left at San Domingo in Bolton's charge, and what became of her and her valuable cargo is not known.

Kidd appeared in the eastern end of Long Island Sound near the end of June, 1699, and from Gardiner's Island opened communication

with Lord Bellomont, who was then in Boston. The letters which the captain sent to the governor earnestly declared that all the piracies which had occurred had been done by his men in a state of mutiny, and never with his connivance; that, indeed, they had set aside his positive commands, and had locked him up in his cabin while committing their crimes. Offer was made at the same time to share with Bellomont or the syndicate goods to the amount of forty thousand pounds. Bellomont's answer was an invitation to Kidd to come to Boston, coupled with the assurance that if the captain could make good his claim that he had been driven into piracy against his will he might count upon the governor's protection. Accordingly, on the first day of July, Kidd, who had been joined the while by his wife and children, landed in Boston. But his story told at first hand failed to satisfy Lord Bellomont, and when he sturdily refused to disclose the whereabouts of the "Quedah Merchant" unless Livingston's bond in his favor was discharged,—which refusal showed certainly a fine loyalty towards his friend,—he was arrested with his crew and thrown into jail. Kidd and his fellow-prisoners were detained in Boston for some months, and it was not until the summer

of 1700 that he was transported to England in a man-of-war sent out for the purpose. There he was kept in prison for another year while evidence against him was sought in the East Indies. Meantime, so much discussion had been aroused in England by his partnership with king and ministers that when he was finally brought to trial, in the spring of 1701, his case had grown to be one of great political importance. King and ministry had, indeed, become so thoroughly alarmed by the aspect of the affair as to regard the conviction and hanging of the captain as the only sure means of clearing their own skirts.

This view of the case is borne out by the record of the trial. Kidd was first brought to the bar of the Old Bailey on a charge of murdering the gunner, William Moore, and a conviction secured thereon before the charge of piracy was pressed against him. Kidd's defence as to the first charge was that Moore was engaged in mutiny, and rightfully slain, and to the second charge that he had only captured vessels sailing under French colors, except in one or two cases when his men overpowered him and took the command out of his hands. Nor did the prosecution break down this defence. However, the fortunes of the Whig party as well as Kidd's life

were at stake, and the jury, as had doubtless been determined from the beginning, brought him in guilty. This was on May 9, 1701, and three days later, in company with nine undoubted pirates, Kidd was hanged on Execution Dock, in the city of London. Doubtless he deserved his fate, but it is likewise probable that he would have gone free had not his misdeeds involved far larger interests than his own.

Be this as it may, Kidd's execution closes the record of New York's participation, open or disguised, with the Red-Sea trade, for long before it occurred Lord Bellomont had brought to a victorious end the work cut out for him by his royal master. He found the task, as has already been inferred, a by no means easy one. "I am obliged," he wrote to the king, "to stand entirely upon my own legs. My assistants hinder me, the people oppose me, and the merchants threaten me. It is, indeed, uphill work." Richard of Bellomont, however, was not the man to be dismayed by obstacles. The collector of the port, though his own kinsman, he cashiered for remissness in enforcing the laws; Colonel William Nicoll was dismissed from the council charged with being the agent through whom Fletcher had carried on his business with the



pirates; and, when the covert opposition of the leading merchants changed to open hostility, he did not hesitate to accuse five other members of his council of complicity with pirates and to remove or suspend them from office. Their places were taken by men upon whom the governor could rely for honest and hearty support, and who helped him to hunt away the pirates and to hang those whom he caught on the different headlands of the coast. His enemies, made desperate by his resolute ways, finally sent an attorney to England to pray for his removal by the king, who was assured that his continuance in office would ruin the commerce of the town; but this prayer was promptly answered by the condemnation of Fletcher; nor did the charge that Lord Bellomont had himself, through his connection with Kidd, been a promoter of piracy serve to stay his hand or to shake him in the esteem of the home powers.

It was a pretty fight while it lasted, but shrewd men saw that it could have but one ending. Lord Bellomont was sustained in every point raised against him, and when he died, in March, 1701, piracy and sea-stealing at second hand, so profitable three short years before, had become extinct industries in New York.

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## VIII

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### *The Fight for a Free Press*

A STEADY widening and quickening of the democratic spirit is the thread upon which the historian must string the story of New York during the opening decades of the eighteenth century. And it is a story studded thickly with stirring and dramatic episodes. When the Earl of Bellomont died suddenly in 1701, the control of affairs in the province fell into the hands of John Nanfan, the lieutenant-governor. Nanfan, like Bellomont, was a warm sympathizer with the Leislerian party, which then counted a majority both in the assembly and in the council, but he lacked Bellomont's ability to control and restrain warring factions, and the Leislerian leaders were not slow to take sweeping and, in a measure, resentful advantage of this fact. An act was forthwith passed by the assembly to enable the Leisler family to institute lawsuits for damages which they alleged they had sustained at the hands of the Aristocratic party during the change from

the House of Stuart to the House of Orange, while Robert Livingston, one of Leisler's bitterest foes, was removed from his office of secretary of Indian affairs and collector of customs. Livingston's accounts were known to be then in the hands of Lady Bellomont, but, nevertheless, demand was made for them by the assembly; and upon his failure to produce them, he was pronounced a defaulter and expelled from the council, his property at the same time being confiscated for the public good.

Still harsher measures were adopted in the case of another of Leisler's whilom enemies, Nicholas Bayard. Early in 1702 word reached New York that Lord Cornbury had been named to succeed Lord Bellomont, and Bayard headed a petition to the crown, signed by most of the Aristocratic leaders, which savagely denounced Nanfan and the Leislerians and prayed that the new governor might be sent with all possible haste. When news of this petition reached Nanfan, he at once gave orders that Bayard and John Hutchings—an alderman of the city who had been active in procuring signatures to the obnoxious paper—should be arrested and thrown into jail. Ten years before, Bayard, to assure Leisler's condemnation, had secured from the

assembly summoned by Sloughter the passage of an act which provided that "any person who should endeavor by any manner of way, or upon any pretence, by force of arms or otherwise, to disturb the peace, good, and quiet of the province, should be esteemed rebels and traitors, and should incur the pains and penalties which the laws of England had provided for such offence." The weapon forged for use against an enemy was now invoked for its maker's own undoing. Indictments for rebellion and treason were, accordingly, found against Bayard and Hutchings, and the chief justice and solicitor-general of the province, both ardent Leislerians, haled them for trial before a court made up of their declared foes. Despite the efforts of their friends and counsel, both men were found guilty and were sentenced to be disembowelled and quartered.

This sentence, however, was never carried into execution. Instead, a reprieve was granted the condemned men until the royal pleasure should be known, and the arrival of Lord Cornbury, in May, 1702, suddenly and completely changed the posture of affairs. The new governor was the eldest son of the Earl of Clarendon, and a near kinsman of Queen Anne, who a few weeks before had succeeded King William

on the English throne. His first act upon his arrival was to denounce the doings of the Leislerians and espouse the cause of the Aristocratic party. The assembly was dissolved and many of its acts annulled; Livingston was restored to his office and estates, and Bayard and Hutchings were set free, while the chief justice and the solicitor-general who had secured their condemnation were compelled, under assumed names, to seek refuge in Virginia.

A further test of Cornbury's quality, however, proved him a bigot and a tyrant, and served ere long to unite all classes against him. During the summer of 1702 New York was scourged by an epidemic of yellow fever, and the frightened townsfolk fled the city by hundreds. Cornbury and his council took quarters at Jamaica, on Long Island. Many of the residents of that village were Presbyterians, who had lately built a small church and bought a house and glebe for the use of their minister. The manse was the best house in the town, and the minister, in a spirit of true hospitality, tendered it for the governor's accommodation, removing with his family to a near-by cottage. Cornbury's requital of this courteous act took curious shape. An act passed by the assembly



KING'S COLLEGE, FACING THE COMMON AT THE END OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD



in Fletcher's time had provided for the building of a church in New York, another in Richmond, two in Westchester, and two in Suffolk, over each of which was to be settled a Protestant minister, to be paid by a tax levied on the inhabitants. The word Protestant in this act had been construed to mean Episcopal. The church at Jamaica had been built by a vote of the freeholders, but this vote did not secure it to the use of any particular denomination, and the handful of Episcopalians in the town, emboldened by the presence of the governor, resolved to profit by the act of Fletcher's assembly. A number of them accordingly seized the church of a Sunday morning, and when the Presbyterians sought to expel them by force, the governor promptly interfered to sustain the claims of the intruders. Worse still, with his sanction, the sheriff seized upon the glebe, and leased it for the benefit of the Episcopal party, while Cornbury, on his return to New York, instead of restoring the parsonage to his host, surrendered it into the hands of the Episcopal clergyman, who occupied it henceforth as his place of residence.

Cornbury's persecution of the Presbyterians, who were seeking a foothold in other parts of the colony, did not end with the Jamaica inci-



dent. Four years later two preachers of this sect, Francis Makemie and John Hampton, journeying from Virginia to New England, halted in New York, and were invited to occupy the pulpits of the Dutch and Huguenot churches. The invitation, however, was coupled with the proviso that they should first obtain the consent of the governor, for Cornbury, who, Smith tells us, "was averse to every sect but his own," had now set up the rule that neither minister nor school-master should preach or instruct in the province without a license from him. It was declined by Makemie and Hampton, on the ground that "they had the queen's authority to preach anywhere in her dominions;" and while on the following Sunday the former addressed the Presbyterians of the city at a private house, the latter preached in the Presbyterian church at Newtown, Long Island. The governor, when he heard of their doings, ordered that they should be arrested and brought before him. "The law," he told them, "will not permit me to countenance strolling preachers, who, for aught I know to the contrary, may be Papists in disguise. You must first qualify yourselves by satisfying the government you are fit persons to occupy a pulpit before you can be permitted

to preach." Makemie, smarting under the indignity to which he and his comrade had been subjected, made defiant answer that he had qualified himself according to law in Virginia, and that, having done so, "would preach in any part of the queen's dominion as well as Virginia, and that the license he had obtained there was as good as any he could obtain" in New York. This ended the interview, and the clergymen were committed to jail, where they lay for many weeks. Meantime, public opinion, irrespective of sect, was earnestly aroused in behalf of the imprisoned men, and their trial, when at length it came on, resulted, "amid great excitement and great cheering," in their complete acquittal. Thus the obstinate bigotry of a small-minded governor occasioned the settlement once and for all of the question of religious liberty for the province. Makemie, a devout and excellent man, remained in New York and became the first pastor of the Presbyterian church built some years afterwards in Wall Street.

Cornbury's bigotry took another form when he had to do with matters concerning his own church. Under the provisions of the Fletcher act, to which reference has already been made, Trinity Church, on Broadway, "a small square

edifice, with a tall spire," had been begun in 1697, and was opened for worship early in the following year. Cornbury, in 1703, persuaded Queen Anne to make to this church what was virtually a free gift of the tract of land then known as the Queen's Farm. The tract in question, originally set aside by the Dutch to be tilled for the benefit of the servants of the West India Company, lay between the present Fulton and Warren Streets and Broadway and the North River. Made the private property of the Duke of York upon the English conquest, as the Duke's Farm it had been increased in 1670 by large purchases from the heirs of Annetje Jans, and carried northward as far as the present Charlton Street. Thus enlarged it became known as the King's Farm when James II. ascended the throne, and as the Queen's Farm upon the accession of Queen Anne. Its bestowal upon Trinity now caused it to be renamed the Church Farm, and at the same time laid the foundation of the immense revenues which that church has continued to enjoy and to use for the benefit of the city down to the present day.

Cornbury's part in this questionable gift met with sharp rebuke from those who did not profit by it, and who knew that his assumption of re-

ligious zeal was but a cloak to hide a vicious private life. A dissolute spendthrift, burdened with an ever-growing load of debt, he did not scruple on occasion to accept bribes thinly disguised as gifts or to make free with the public money. Thus in 1703 the assembly granted fifteen hundred pounds for fortifying the Narrows against the fleets of France and Spain, with whom England was then at war, stipulating that it should be used for no other purpose; but the governor applied the money to his own use, and refused, when called upon, to account for its expenditure. Whereupon the assembly demanded a provincial treasurer, and refused further grants until one should be appointed, declaring that the people had a right to control the expenditure of their own money. "I know of no right that you have except such as the queen is pleased to allow you," was Cornbury's tart reply; but when the matter was referred to the queen in council, the assembly was sustained against the governor. Thereafter all moneys voted by the assembly were disbursed and accounted for by a treasurer of its own choosing. The dispute between governor and assembly took a keener edge as time went on, and ended in 1708 in a sharp refusal to vote his yearly

salary. Moreover, the assembly coupled this refusal with a series of resolutions which denounced the governor's misdoings in good set terms, declaring that they would, if continued, "prove the ruin of the colony." These resolutions, along with divers petitions asking for Cornbury's removal, were promptly forwarded to the home government; and upon their receipt Queen Anne, with some reluctance, revoked her kinsman's commission. The deposed governor's last days in New York were troubled ones, for as soon as news of his downfall reached the colony, his creditors seized upon him and threw him into the debtors' prison. There he remained until the death of his father in the following year made him Earl of Clarendon and brought him money to pay his debts. Then he departed for England, and America saw him no more.

Cornbury's place was taken by Lord Lovelace, nephew of the nobleman who succeeded Nicolls, but the new governor died a few months after his arrival in the colony, and in 1710 direction of the government was assumed by Robert Hunter, whose term lasted nine years. Both under Lovelace and Hunter the assembly, having learned wisdom from experience, refused the grant of a permanent revenue, and declared its

purpose to vote none but annual appropriations, thus making the salary of the governor dependent from year to year upon his good conduct. Hunter, though a wise and politic as well as an honest man, chafed at the salutary check-rein placed upon him by the assembly, and in letters to friends in England gave free expression to his opinion of the popular branch of the government. "This is the finest air to live upon in the universe," he wrote to Dean Swift; "and if our trees and birds could speak, and our assemblymen be silent, the finest conversation also. . . . According to the custom of the country, the sachems are the poorest of the people. . . . I thought in coming to this government I should have hot meals and cool drinks, and recreate my body in Holland sheets upon beds of down; whereas I am doing penance as if I were a hermit. . . . I am used like a dog, after having done all that is in the power of man to deserve better treatment."

Governor Hunter put too many shadows into his picture. Despite his continuing quarrel with an assembly bent upon realizing its own rights and powers, his gracious personality and upright ways won him the hearts of the colonists, and there was keen regret when in 1719 failing

health compelled his return to England. He was succeeded by William Burnet, son of the famous prelate and historian, and himself a man of exceptional parts and sagacity, as his course as governor bore witness. Burnet remained at the head of affairs until the ascension of George II., in 1728, when he was transferred to the governorship of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. He was succeeded in New York by John Montgomery, who died in 1731, and the next year came Colonel William Cosby, who had lately retired from the governorship of Minorca, leaving unsavory memories behind him.

The new governor was a needy and grasping adventurer of the Cornbury type, and like that individual he lost no time in furnishing proof of this fact, for he made haste upon his arrival in the province to demand an equal division of the salary and perquisites of the governorship since the date of his appointment between himself and Rip Van Dam, a leading merchant of the town, who, as president of the council, had conducted affairs during the interregnum after Montgomery's death. Van Dam refused to comply with this demand, and Cosby, to recover the half of the salary which he claimed, instituted proceedings before the judges of the Su-

preme Court sitting as barons of the exchequer. Two judges of this court, James DeLancey and Adolphus Philipse, were known to be friends of Cosby, and on this account Van Dam's counsel excepted to its jurisdiction, and sought to institute a suit at common law. Lewis Morris, the chief justice, supported this plea; but it was overruled by DeLancey and Philipse, who declared the cause of Van Dam lost, and ordered him to pay half of his salary to the governor. Then Cosby removed the independent Morris, and named DeLancey chief justice in his stead, at the same time suspending Van Dam and several of his friends from the council.

The governor had triumphed, but in a way which bred righteous anger in the mind of every lover of fair play in the province. And the triumph was only for the moment. Cosby's discomfiture was already making, and with it one of the supreme incidents in colonial history. Since 1725 there had been a newspaper in the town,—the *New York Gazette*, edited by William Bradford, an Englishman, who in 1693 had set up the first press in the colony. Bradford was printer to the government, and in his journal gave support to the cause of Cosby. Van Dam and his friends, therefore, resolved without



delay upon a newspaper which should champion their own cause; and while the proceedings before the court of exchequer were still in progress, they aided John Peter Zenger, an energetic young German and former apprentice of Bradford, in setting up the *New York Weekly Journal*. Zenger was himself a writer of pith and quality, and he had to aid him in his warfare upon Cosby and his council the caustic pens of William Smith and James Alexander, two of the ablest lawyers in the colony. Week after week the *Journal* poured upon the opposition a steady stream of sarcasm and invective. The wit and pungency of these attacks were keenly relished by the commonalty. The governor and his councillors, on the other hand, writhed under them, and finally, in November, 1734, ordered that four numbers of the offending journal should be burned at the pillory by the common hangman, in presence of the mayor and aldermen. The latter, however, declared the order illegal, and forbade its execution by the hangman. The papers were in the end burned by one of the sheriff's negro slaves.

Then Zenger was arrested on a warrant from the governor and council, which charged him with publishing seditious libels, and thrown into

prison. Three days later he was brought by a writ of habeas corpus before the chief justice and demand made by his counsel, Smith and Alexander, that he be admitted to bail. The court, after much argument, ordered that Zenger should give bail in the sum of eight hundred pounds. But the editor swore that, save the tools of his trade, he was not worth forty pounds in the world. He was, therefore, remanded to jail, whence he issued this card to his readers :

“As you last week were disappointed of my journal, I think it incumbent upon me to publish my apology, which is this: On the Lord’s Day the seventeenth of this instant, I was arrested, taken and imprisoned in the common jail of this city, by virtue of a warrant from the governor, and the Honorable Francis Harrison, Esq., and others in council, of which, God willing, you will have a copy. Whereupon I was put under such restraint that I had not the liberty of pen, ink, or paper, or to see or speak with people, till upon my complaint to the honorable chief justice, at my appearing before him . . . who discountenanced that proceeding. Therefore I have had since that time the liberty of speaking through the hole of the door to my wife and servants, by which, I doubt not, you will think me

sufficiently excused for not sending last week's *Journal*; and I hope for the future, by the liberty of speaking to my servants through the hole of the door to entertain you as formerly."

The doughty editor was as good as his word. The *Journal* continued to be published, and Zenger to write for it, despite his imprisonment, manfully dealing his opponents blow for blow, and something more. Meantime, the assembly had laid upon the table a request from the governor and council that it should concur with them in prosecuting him, and a little later the grand jury refused to find an indictment against him. But his enemies were still resolved to crush the imprisoned man, and in January, 1735, the attorney-general filed an information against him for "false and seditious libel." Zenger's counsel, Smith and Alexander, met this move by attacking the commission of Chief Justice DeLancey, before whom the case must in due time come for trial. This commission, they alleged, had been granted by the governor without the advice or consent of his council, and ran "during pleasure," instead of "during good behavior." The point was well taken, and DeLancey could find only one way to meet it. "You have brought it to that point, gentlemen," said he,

“ that either we must go from the bench or you from the bar,” and he summarily ordered their names struck from the list of attorneys.

But Zenger was not to be left without able counsel. The lawyer of widest repute in America was the venerable Andrew Hamilton, of Philadelphia. The eloquent Quaker saw clearly that if a government could use the law of libel to suppress freedom of speech and of the press it would be the end of liberty in the colonies; and when asked to undertake the defence of Zenger, he agreed to do so without fee or reward. The trial was held on August 4, 1735, before Chief Justice DeLancey, with Richard Bradley, as attorney-general, conducting the prosecution. Conviction was mainly sought on an article in which Zenger had said that judges were displaced and new courts erected without consent of the assembly, whereby jury trial was taken away whenever a governor felt so disposed; and that the tendency of such acts was to drive residents of New York to other colonies. These statements were well founded, and Hamilton, boldly admitting their publication, offered to prove them, only to be reminded by the chief justice and the attorney-general that the truth of a libel could not be admitted in evidence. The only question, they

declared for the jury was the fact of publication. This was in accordance with precedents; but another and broader interpretation of the law had long been pressing for recognition, and upon it Hamilton based his appeal to the jurors, contending that it rested with them to decide whether or not Zenger's charges could be properly condemned as libellous.

"It is true," said he, "that in times past it was a crime to speak the truth, and that in that terrible court of Star Chamber many worthy and brave men suffered for so doing; and yet even in that court and in those bad times a great and good man durst say what I hope will not be taken amiss of me to say in this place, that the practice of informations for libels is a sword in the hands of a wicked king and an arrant coward to cut down and destroy the innocent; the one cannot because of his high station and the other dares not because of his want of courage revenge himself in any other manner. Our constitution gives us an opportunity to prevent wrong by appealing to the people, but of what use is this mighty privilege if every man that suffers must be silent, and if a man must be taken up for a libeller for telling his sufferings to his neighbors? Prosecutions for libel since

the time of the Star Chamber have been generally set on foot at the instance of the crown or his ministers, and countenanced by judges who hold their places at pleasure. And give me leave to say that as great men as any in Britain have boldly asserted that the mode of prosecution by information, when a grand jury will not find a bill of indictment, is a national grievance, and inconsistent with that freedom which the subjects of England enjoy in most other cases. But if we are so unhappy as to be unable to ward off this stroke of power directly, yet let us take care not to be cheated out of our liberties by forms and appearances; let us always be sure that the charge in the information is made out clearly, even beyond a doubt, for though matters in the information may be called form, upon trial they may be and often have been found to be matters of substance upon giving judgment."

Hamilton, as his remarks drew to a close, broke into a strain of lofty and impelling eloquence. "You see," said he, "that I labor under the weight of years, and am borne down by many infirmities of body; yet, old and weak as I am, I should think it my duty, if required, to go to the utmost part of the land, where my service could be of use in assisting to quench

the flame of prosecutions upon informations set afoot by the government, to deprive a people of the right of remonstrating and complaining of the arbitrary attempts of men in power. Men who oppress and injure the people under their administration, provoke them to cry out and complain, and then make that very complaint the foundation for new oppressions and prosecutions. I wish I could say there were no instances of the kind. But, to conclude, the question before the court, and you, gentlemen of the jury, is not of small or private concern; it is not the cause of a poor printer, nor of New York alone, which you are now trying. It may in its consequences affect every freeman that lives under a British government on the main of America. It is the best cause, it is the cause of liberty, and I make no doubt that your upright conduct this day will not only entitle you to the love and esteem of your fellow-citizens, but every man who prefers freedom to a life of slavery will bless and honor you as men who have baffled the attempt of tyranny, and by an impartial and uncorrupt verdict have laid a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbors that to which nature and the laws of our country have given us a right,—

the liberty both of exposing and opposing arbitrary power in these parts of the world at least by speaking and writing truth."

Small heed after this appeal was given to Bradley's reply or DeLancey's charge. The jury withdrew, only to return immediately with the verdict, "Not guilty." A mighty shout greeted the acquittal of Zenger, and a cheering crowd kept Hamilton company to his lodging-place. Later a public dinner was given him by the mayor and aldermen, who also presented him with a gold snuff-box and the freedom of the city. The people of New York did well to honor the great lawyer, for his triumph in the Zenger trial had nobler issue than a new interpretation of the law of libel. The establishment of freedom of the press for all the colonies "was the greatest victory encompassed in America by the democratic spirit before the signing of the Declaration of Independence, and the one that made all others possible."



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## IX

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### *The Colonial Town*

THE New York in which Andrew Hamilton pleaded the cause of John Peter Zenger had come to be a town of ten thousand inhabitants, and its steady growth during the next thirty years gave it, at the end of the colonial period, a population of twenty thousand souls. This growth, however, was mainly on the eastern side of the island, which by 1755 had been pretty solidly built upon as far north as the present Catherine Street, whence an almost unbroken line of wharves and docks, quays and ship-yards, ran southward to Whitehall, along Water Street, lately raised above the waves and made the river front. No parallel thoroughfares had as yet been opened west of Broadway, and though streets had been laid out through the Church Farm as far as Warren Street, few buildings had been erected north of the line of Liberty Street. There were two docks on the North River, and there was a garden for popular resort near the present foot of Cham-

bers Street, whence a line of palisades, designed as a defence against the French and Indians, stretched eastward across the island, ending at the present junction of James and Cherry Streets. Broadway, beyond the Common and its almshouse of graystone, built in 1736, was a grassy lane leading to cow-pastures and ending at a set of bars not far from the present Leonard Street. All the important business interests still centred on the eastern side of the island, and most of the warehouses and retail shops were in Great Queen, now Pearl, Street. Above the Collect and along the Bowery Lane an almost continuous line of country-seats extended as far as the present Madison Square, while on the upper west side Greenwich had grown to be a village of some importance.

The threads of official life centred, as of old, in the fort below the Bowling Green, where was the residence of the governor and the barracks for the royal troops. There were other barracks in the lower reaches of Whitehall Street, and at the corner of that thoroughfare and the Bowling Green stood the office of the colonial secretary. The large building at the corner of Whitehall and State Streets, erected by Stuyvesant, and by Dongan rechristened Whitehall,

now did duty as the custom-house. The most imposing structure in the town was the City Hall, on the northeast corner of Wall and Nassau Streets, which in 1700 had replaced the old Stadt Huys in Pearl Street. Here the mayor had his office, and here were held the meetings of the common council, the provincial assembly, and the courts. The ground-floor contained a prison, a watch-room, and an engine-house, and there were cells for imprisoned debtors in the attic. The City Hall also housed New York's first public library. It was in 1729, Mrs. Booth tells us, that a collection of books bequeathed by John Millington, rector of Newington, England, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, was by that organization presented to the city for a public library. Like disposition was made at the same time of a collection presented to the society in 1700 by the Rev. John Sharp, chaplain of Lord Bellomont. A quarter of a century later a number of citizens organized themselves into a body, which in due time received a charter from George III., under the name of the New York Society Library. Its collection of books grew steadily until the Revolution, but during that struggle was scattered and almost totally destroyed by the British sol-

diery. The society reorganized, however, in 1783, and reviving its charter, again began the collection of books. A building was erected in Nassau Street in 1793, but the collection soon outgrew its quarters, and removing temporarily to Chambers Street, continued there until the completion of a building of its own at the corner of Broadway and Leonard Street in 1840. Hardly was it settled here when the upward rush of business forced it to seek a new resting-place. It established itself for a time in Astor Place, and then in 1857 removed to its present home in University Place. "Such was the rise and progress of the first public library of New York."

After the City Hall, the most sightly building in the colonial town was the Merchants' Exchange, a brick structure on arches, erected in 1755 in the middle of Broad Street, between Water and Front Streets. Markets, too, were notable institutions of the later colonial period. A market occupied the centre of Broadway, opposite Liberty Street, and a second stood at the North River end of the present Fulton Street, while others were established at the foot of almost every thoroughfare along the East River.

The New York of 1760 or thereabouts had

also an abundance of taverns and coffee-houses. There was the King's Arms at the lower end of Broadway, opposite the fort, a graystone building, with flower-gardens in its rear reaching down to the Hudson. The Black Horse Tavern was in Fair Street, now Fulton. Edward Willett kept at the sign of the Province Arms, which, "with stables and all things necessary for the entertainment of travellers," stood on the northwest corner of Broadway and Thames Street. Samuel Fraunces, of whom more in another place, was landlord of the Queen's Head, located in Pearl Street at the corner of Broad. The Merchants' Coffee-House, opened some time prior to 1743, stood on the southeast corner of Wall and Water Streets, and until long after the Revolution—it was not permanently closed until 1816—it continued to be one of the most frequented resorts of the town. There merchant and artisan foregathered to sip their coffee, to read the journals of the day, and to discuss the topics of the time. There, too, matters of pith and moment were set afoot, and in the long room of the coffee-house were held most of the exciting debates which followed the passage of the Stamp Act and preceded the calling of the first Continental Congress.

Before 1760 the play had become an established feature of the social life of the town. Indeed, there is good reason for the belief that plays were produced in New York by professional actors prior to 1700, but who the players were and what they acted are unknown, for there were then no newspapers to chronicle their doings; and it is not until 1750 that the seeker after the city's first theatre finds definite reward for his quest. It was on February 26 of the year last named that the following notice appeared in the *Weekly Post Boy*:

“Last week arrived here a company of comedians from Philadelphia, who we hear have taken a convenient room for the purpose in one of the buildings lately belonging to the Hon. Rip Van Dam, Esq., deceased, where they intend to perform as long as the season lasts, provided they meet with suitable encouragement.”

The building in which this company found a home stood at what is now Nos. 64-66 Nassau Street, between John Street and Maiden Lane. It was opened on March 5, 1750, with “Richard III.,” and Otway's lugubrious tragedy of “The Orphan” was produced during a season which lasted until July. Nothing is known of this company beyond the names of its members and the

plays it produced, but a managerial prospectus still extant shows that admission to the gallery cost three shillings and to the pit five shillings, the performance beginning "at precisely half an hour after six o'clock, and no person being admitted behind the scenes."

A company managed by Robert Upton, an Englishman, gave performances in New York from December, 1751, until March, 1752. A little more than a year later another company of English players, headed by Lewis Hallam, arrived in the city, and on September 17, 1753, opened a new theatre which had been built upon the site of the old one in Nassau Street. The first season of the Hallam or Old American Company, as it came in time to be known, lasted until March, 1754, when it left New York for several years. Upon its return in December, 1758, the Nassau Street theatre having the while been transformed into a church, it erected a new building on Cruger's Wharf, between Old and Coenties Slips, where it performed until February, 1759. Then it was again absent from the city until August, 1761, when a new theatre was built for it in Chapel, now Beekman, Street, on the site of Temple Court. There, on December 17, 1761, "Hamlet" was first played in America.

The Chapel Street play-house was destroyed during the turbulent and troubled days which followed the passage of the Stamp Act, and when, after another long absence, the Hallam Company came again to New York, in the summer of 1767, a fourth theatre was built for it, this time on the north side of John Street between Broadway and Nassau Street. A wooden structure, painted red, with a pit, two rows of boxes, and a gallery, the John Street Theatre from its opening in December, 1767, had a history of a little more than thirty years, and one that offers some shrewd contrasts to present-day conditions. The players of the Hallam Company at the beginning numbered less than a dozen. Rigby, the leading man, was at home alike in tragedy, high comedy, and farce, the first to play Romeo in America, the first Beverly in "The Gamester." A Mr. Malone did the leading heavies, such as Lear and Shylock, as well as the eccentric comedy, such as Jobson and Alderman Smuggler, favorite comic rôles of the old days. Hallam, the manager, did the comic old men, perhaps his best rôle being Launcelot Gobbo. Mrs. Hallam, the leading lady, played any minor part desired, as did likewise Miss Beeseley, the soubrette.



The company was conducted on the co-operative plan, one of the earliest experiments of the sort in this country. There were eighteen shares, the plant counting for four shares, the manager three shares, and each of the actors one share. The venture proved successful, the shares rising steadily in value, and Hallam finally retired with a fortune, the greater part of which he lost, however, by the shrinkage of values in New York during the Revolution.

The plays customarily offered in John Street were such as had already been well received in England,—the tragedies of Shakespeare and the comedies of Congreve, Farquhar, Colman, and Goldsmith. Elaborate stage settings were as yet unknown, and costumes and scenery were often shabby and inadequate; but the public taste was exacting and the art of acting was judged by severe standards. People of quality usually sent their negro servants, each dressed in the livery of his master, to secure good seats in advance, and ladies most often went to the play in chariots or sedan chairs, which were then in common use. The social status of the actor, on the other hand, was low. Tap-rooms were frequently associated with the theatre, and at that period, and for many years afterwards,

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profligate women were allowed access to a certain part of it.

The New York of 1760 was also a church-going community, with the Reformed Dutch still the most numerous sect in the town. The Dutch church within the fort had been given up in 1693 for a new building, which stood until 1807 on the north side of Garden Street, now Exchange Place, between Broad and William Streets. The Garden Street structure ere long became too small for its congregation, and in 1729 the Middle Dutch Church was opened for worship on the east side of Nassau, between Cedar and Liberty Streets. Forty years later the North Dutch Church was built on the west side of William, between Ann and Fulton Streets. The Middle Church did duty in its later years as a post-office, being finally torn down in 1882 to make way for the erection of the Mutual Life Insurance Company's building, while the North Church was used as a place of worship until the summer of 1875, when its site was leased and the structure demolished.

The Huguenot church, a low stone building, erected in 1704, and which served its original purpose until 1832, stood on the north side of Pine Street, near the east side of Nassau Street.

The Friends' Meeting-House was a small wooden building on the north side of Liberty Street, midway between Broadway and what is now Liberty Place. The Lutherans worshipped in a stone building without a steeple, which was known as the Swamp Church, and stood until 1850 on the northeast corner of William and Frankfort Streets. The Jewish synagogue was a modest stone structure, which stood from 1730 until 1833 on the north side of vanished Mill Street. The Presbyterians from 1719 until 1844 had a place of worship on the north side of Wall, between Broadway and Nassau Street; but in 1760 a part of the congregation was making ready to build the church known as the Brick Meeting, which until 1856 stood on the triangular plot of ground now occupied by the Potter and *New York Times* buildings. The Moravian church stood on the south side of Fulton, near William Street, and that of the Baptists on the west side of Gold, between Fulton and John Streets; while a congregation of German Calvinists held services in the building in Nassau Street which had formerly been used as a theatre. The Catholics and Methodists had as yet no recognized places of worship, and it was not until 1768 that the

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latter sect built a chapel in John Street, between Nassau and William Streets, on a site which has since continued to be used for religious purposes. Most of the churches named were flanked by burying-grounds, but that of the Jews, of which a part is still to be seen in the New Bowery, occupied a plot bounded by Chat-ham, Catherine, and Oliver Streets.

The churches most affected by the crown officials and the gentry of the town were Trinity, which had been enlarged in 1737, and St. George's Chapel, which stood from 1748 until 1841 on the northwest corner of Beekman and Cliff Streets. There was a charity school under the care of Trinity Church, housed since 1748 in a small building on the south side of Rector Street, and connected with the Dutch church in Garden Street was another school, also supported by charitable contributions. The other schools of the town were mainly in private hands, and accomplished little to deserve their name; but a brave, if modest, effort at higher education was being carried forward in what was then called King's College and is now known as Columbia University. Money for the founding of this institution was raised by a public lottery set afoot by the provincial assem-

bly, and Trinity Church gave it for a site the plot of ground bounded by the present College Place and by Church, Murray, and Barclay Streets. The three-story building of stone erected on this site was first occupied in 1760, six years after the college received its charter.

Samuel Johnson, a man as learned and industrious as his English namesake, and who forty years before had helped in the founding of Yale College, was its first president, and he had at the outset but a single assistant in the instruction of the handful of young men who, while a permanent home was building, gathered of a morning in the vestry-room of the school-house attached to Trinity Church. The first graduating class, that of 1758, numbered eight; but at the second commencement only one student was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Epenetus Townsend was the name of this lone student, and in the college records are some quaintly suggestive remarks about certain of his companions who began college life with him, only to leave him in the lurch. It is said of one, that "about the middle of his second year he went into the army;" of another, that he, "after three years, went to merchandise;" of another, that "after about two years he went to

privateering;" and of another, that "after three years he went to nothing." Nevertheless, the college grew from year to year in numbers and efficiency, and when Dr. Johnson resigned the presidency, in 1763, he had laid a sure foundation for those who were to follow him.

The first years of King's College were in keeping with the time, for the New York of 1760 was still in the day of small things. Its narrow streets, most of them unpaved, were lighted, on the nights when there was no moon, by hanging out a lantern on the end of a pole from the window of every seventh house. The night-watch, housed in the basement of the City Hall, numbered less than a score of men, and a part of these did duty only during the winter months. The first fire-engines appeared in the city in 1731, when two of them were imported from London. Each engine, we are told by Todd, "required twelve men to work it, took water from a cistern, or, failing that, from a wooden trough, into which water was poured, and could throw a continuous jet seventy feet high, and with such velocity as to break windows." Twenty-four men made up the regular force of fire-fighters, whose only emolument was exemption from other public service; and

an act of the assembly passed in 1738 defined their duties. When an alarm was given, they were to drag the engine to the fire, and there, under the direction of the magistrates, "with their utmost diligence, manage, work, and play the said fire-engines and all other tools and instruments, at such fire with all their power, skill, strength, and understanding; and when the fire is out shall draw the engine back." The city firemen were chartered in 1798 as the Volunteer Fire Department, replaced in 1865 by the present system of a paid force.

The town's architecture still retained the stamp of its Dutch founders. "Most of the houses," writes Professor Peter Kalm, a Swede who visited New York in 1748, "are of brick and several stories high. Some have the gable end towards the street, but the new are altered in this respect. Many of the houses have a balcony on the roof, in which the people sit in the summer evenings. These roofs are covered with tiles or shingles of wood. The walls are covered with all sorts of drawings and pictures in small frames. On each side of the chimney they usually have an alcove, and the wall under the windows wainscoted, and have benches placed under it." Land was still cheap, and the well-



JUNEL MANSION, HEAD-QUARTERS OF WASHINGTON AND RESIDENCE OF AARON BURR





to-do had great gardens around their homes. People of wealth built their houses with comfort and durability in mind; and a notable example of the architecture of the later colonial period exists in the mansion erected in 1758 by Roger Morris, and which stands on the plot of ground now bounded by Edgecombe Road and One Hundred and Sixtieth Street. This house is of wood, filled in with brick; the rooms and hallways are wide and high, and all of its details prove that its builder loved space and sunshine.

The lines between classes were sharply drawn in the New York of the later colonial period. First in rank and influence stood the manorial lords, owners of great tenant-farmed estates, who had their roomy, richly furnished houses both in country and in town; who carried swords and aped the picturesque dress of the English upper classes, and who made their journeys in their own sloops or else in huge coaches, attended by liveried postilions and outriders, and with their coats of arms blazoned on the panels. Next in the social scale came the smaller landed proprietors and the merchants of the town, separated by a wide space from the small freeholders and the free workmen. Below these came the unfree whites, bond-servants, redemptioners,

and convicts who had been sent to the colonies and sold for a term of years to make good their passage-money. These redemptioners were drawn in the main from England, Ireland, and Germany. Many of them, their term of service ended, became worthy and industrious members of the body politic. Not a few, however, ran away from their masters at the first opportunity, and helped to swell the idle, half-criminal class which clustered in the alleys and on the outskirts of the town, and gave to it, in proportion to its size, as unwelcome a measure of vicious poverty as is to be found within the modern city.

Negro slaves also formed a large portion of the town's population. Slave importation into New York began some time prior to 1628, and appears to have reached a climax about 1746, when a census of the town showed two thousand four hundred slaves in a total of less than twelve thousand population. Thereafter the natural increase of the blacks, coupled with a steady influx of indentured white servants, assured a supply of labor sufficient for the needs of the colony, and each year marked a lessening demand for slaves, though they continued to be bought and sold during the entire colonial period. Indeed, the decline of slave-holding and slave-buying in

## THE COLONIAL TOWN

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New York began at a comparatively early period, for the excellent reason that they did not pay. Slavery, it was found, was not an economic necessity, as in communities like Virginia and South Carolina, whose welfare depended upon a single staple industry; while in due time discovery was also made that in New York negroes could not perform manual and farm labor, as in the southern colonies.

There was another reason for its decline. Although, as a rule, the slaves of New York were not overworked or ill-treated, most of those imported into the colony were brutal, ignorant savages, and this fact for many years kept alive the dread of a servile insurrection,—a dread which found ruthless expression in laws whose makers knew they could take no risk. Slaves were prohibited from gathering on the Sabbath in groups of more than four. They were forbidden to carry guns, swords, or clubs under penalty of ten lashes at the whipping-post; gaming was visited by the same penalty, and the slave who appeared on the street after nightfall anywhere south of the Collect without a “lantern and a lighted candle in it” was liable to forty lashes at the whipping-post. Finally, it was decreed that a dead slave should be buried

without pall or bearers, and not more than twelve slaves were permitted to attend the funeral.

If these restrictions led to uprisings among the blacks they were punished with unsparing hand. When, in 1707, two slaves, because forbidden to go out on Sunday, killed a Long Island farmer and his family, they were executed within the week with most horrible tortures. Again, in 1712, when a party of negroes, forming a wild plot to slay all the whites, met at night in an orchard near Maiden Lane, and killed and wounded a dozen men before being put to flight, twenty-one of those captured were shot, hung, or burned at the stake.

Reprisals even more sweeping attended the "Great Negro Plot" of 1741, a panic compounded of fear, rage, and suspicion, which has justly been likened to the witchcraft delusion at Salem Village in 1692. This panic had its origin in a series of fires which in March, 1741, alarmed the town, and fixed in the minds of many citizens the belief that they were the work of disaffected slaves. A short time before the indentured servant-girl of a low tavern-keeper on the North River had been arrested, together with her master and mistress and two negroes,

for complicity in a robbery. When a proclamation appeared offering a reward with a full pardon to any conspirator who would tell what he knew about a plot for burning the town, she saw in it a chance to regain her freedom, and "confessed" that her master and mistress, along with sundry blacks and semi-criminal whites, had matured such a plot as the first step in a projected uprising. It has ever since been doubted whether this plot was anything more than a figment of the imagination of a depraved and abandoned girl, but at the moment the creature's charges produced a reign of terror, and scores of people were jailed and put to death on little save her unsupported statements. Fourteen negroes were burned at the stake, eighteen were hanged, and seventy-one transported, while of the twenty whites thrown into prison four were condemned and put to death. Among the latter was John Ury, a poor school-master. Ury was believed to be a Catholic, a faith then under ban in the colony, and he was therefore condemned on the double count of administering the rites of his religion and of complicity in the attempt to burn the town. Not a shred of convincing evidence was produced against him, however, and he died protesting his innocence. Ury was hung on the

little island in the Collect or Fresh Water Pond, near the present junction of Pearl and Centre Streets, and the curious will find in City Hall Place, hard by Duane Street, the spot, a grassy valley in the old days, on which many of the hapless blacks died at the stake.

Glutted with victims, the panic finally subsided in September, 1741, leaving behind it one of the darkest pages in the history of the city. It would be unfair, however, to judge by the standards of a later time the men who put Ury and his fellows to death. Fear and terror, fed by fraud, appear to have prompted some awful mistakes, but those who committed them lived and acted under the hair-hung sword. Moreover, the panic of 1741 was followed by a wholesome revulsion of popular feeling in favor of the negroes. They were admitted to the franchise within ten years, and in 1758 the abolition of slavery in New York was practically accomplished by an act which declared that from that time forth all children born of slave parents should be free.

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## X

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### *Before the Revolution*

THE five-and-twenty years between the acquittal of Zenger and the accession of George III. to the English throne, though attended in New York by an almost continuous struggle between the representatives of the crown and the representatives of the people, passed, save for the Great Negro Plot of 1741, without moving incident. During these years half a dozen royal governors played their brief parts on the colonial stage. Cosby died suddenly in 1736, and his place was taken by George Clarke, a long-time resident of the colony, who as lieutenant-governor directed affairs for seven years. Then came Admiral George Clinton, a sailor turned ruler, who at the end of a decade gave way to Sir Danvers Osborne. The latter died by his own hand on the morrow of his arrival in the colony, and after an interregnum of two years, filled by James DeLancey as lieutenant-governor, Sir Charles Hardy, another sailor turned ruler, succeeded to the governor-



ship. Each of these men sooner or later found himself at odds with the provincial assembly. The point most often in contention was whether the grant from the colony to the officers of the crown should be a permanent one, or only for a limited period, the assembly holding stubbornly to the latter view, and insisting also, as time went on, that all grants should be for specific purposes. The governors, on the other hand, saw in the stand taken by the assembly an infringement of the royal prerogative, and in some years, owing to the obstinacy of the one and the inflexibility of the other, supplies were not granted at all.

Religious differences also helped to shape the leadership and following of the rival factions. Most of the court party, which included the crown officials and the larger portion of the local aristocracy, were members of the Episcopal Church, or the Church of England, as it was then, while the much more numerous Presbyterians and the majority of the Dutch and Huguenot congregations formed the bulk of the popular party, wherein such of the gentry as set belief in freedom above pride of caste also found their proper place. The Episcopalian DeLanceys and Johnsons were the leaders of the court, and

the Presbyterian Livingstons and Morrisises of the popular party. During this period and until the separation from England the court party ruled town and colony and divided all the patronage of the government. This in the end, however, "proved a dearly bought advantage. Gratitude for past benefits naturally attached the leaders of the court party to the crown, and secured their loyalty or neutrality during the Revolution. Loyalty at its close brought confiscation of their estates and neutrality long deprivation of political honors and influence, while the Livingstons and Morrisises enjoyed the highest positions of trust and honor."

The strife between factions in New York was, for the moment, thrust into the background by the French and Indian War, which began in 1754, and ended nine years later in the British acquisition of Canada. During this contest New York, while contributing its full quota to the operations by land, sent forth a swarm of well-armed and well-manned vessels to pluck and harass the enemy on the seas. "There are now thirty privateers out of the place, and ten more on the stocks and launched," runs a letter to a London merchant, written in January, 1757, and the writer adds, "They have had hitherto good

success, having brought in fourteen prizes, value one hundred thousand pounds." A year later the *Mercury* gives a list of upward of eighty captures made by the New York fleet since the beginning of the war, and about the same time Lieutenant-Governor DeLancey, writing to Secretary Pitt, declares that "the country is drained of many able-bodied men by almost a madness to go a-privateering." Those who went privateering most often had golden rewards for their labors, and the value of their prizes before the war's end mounted into the millions. But whether they lost or won, the ships and sailors of New York never failed to display a resolute fighting spirit; and the record of their battles is of a sort to stir the pulse of the stolidest man. "On the tenth instant," reports the *Mercury*, in October, 1757, "the privateer sloop 'Weasel,' Captain Fenton, returned here almost an entire wreck, having lost his mast, his boom, his best anchor, and four of his guns in a violent gale of wind." Yet no whit dismayed by his dismantled condition, Captain Fenton, when he fell in with a ship and snow of the enemy, "made all the sail he could, and about seven o'clock, came up with the ship, when he engaged her and the snow with only six guns and without a mast, for three

glasses, and would have boarded one of them, but his sloop would not turn to windward, having seventy-five stout men on board. Finding it impracticable," the report concludes, "to attempt anything of the kind, as his consort could not come up to his assistance, he sheered off to mend his rigging, the little he had being almost shot away."

The Peace of Paris, signed in 1763, ended the war which had sent these sturdy fighters to sea. Two years later came the passage of the Stamp Act and the beginning of the contest that was to give independence to the colonies. During the long premiership of Sir Robert Walpole, the first two Georges had been kings in little more than name. George III., however, came to the English throne in 1760 determined in dogged, narrow fashion to rule as well as to reign. And, the better to effect his purpose, the new king sought from the first not only to break down the growing system of cabinet government in England, but also to set at defiance the demand of the American colonies that there should be no taxation without representation. The last half of the programme appeared easiest of accomplishment, and to it George III. first bent his energies. A weak man is pretty sure to

surround himself with vicious or short-sighted advisers, and the king found advisers of this sort in George Grenville and Charles Townshend, who in April, 1763, took office, the one as prime minister and the other as first lord of trade, with special control of colonial affairs. Both of these men were in full sympathy with the policy of their royal master, and so it was that in March, 1764, Grenville announced in the House of Commons the intention of the government to raise a revenue in America by requiring all legal documents to bear stamps. Need of money to help defray the expenses of the French war was the excuse offered for this intention which a year hence was to take effect in a formal enactment.

News of the proposed Stamp Act provoked angry protest from the Americans. The colonies had contributed more than an equal share both in men and money to the expenses of the French war, and they were willing, as of old, to generously contribute from their resources to the needs of the empire; but one and all, speaking through their several assemblies, declared that they could not rightfully be taxed by the House of Commons unless they were represented in that body. New York was especially earnest in its protests, and the memorial which its assem-

bly adopted and forwarded to the Grenville ministry was couched in terms so vigorous that no member of Parliament was bold enough to present it. Remonstrances, however, were without avail. By reason of the rotten borough system, which excluded the most progressive parts of the kingdom from representation in Parliament, the friends of America counted but a small minority in the House of Commons, and early in 1765 the Stamp Act became a law. New York, in common with her sister colonies, received the news of its passage with hot indignation. The citizens resolved upon the instant that no stamped paper should be used among them, while copies of the act, with a death's head substituted for the royal arms, were hawked about the streets under the title of "The Folly of England and the Ruin of America." Nor was formal and united defiance long delayed. The Massachusetts Legislature despatched a circular letter to all the colonies calling for a general congress to concert measures of resistance, and on the 7th of October delegates from nine of them assembled at New York. Robert R. Livingston headed the New York delegation, and Timothy Ruggles, of Massachusetts, was chosen president of the congress. The session lasted

three weeks and bore fruit in memorials to the king and to both Houses of Parliament and in a declaration of rights which set forth with masterly skill the grievances of the colonies.

The spirit of resistance, meantime, found expression in less formal but no less decisive ways. Barré, while the Stamp Act was being debated in the House of Commons, had referred to the Americans as the Sons of Liberty, and this name was now taken by a secret order which spread with electric speed through the eastern and middle colonies. The Sons of Liberty were solemnly pledged to resist the execution of the obnoxious act, and in New York they had for leaders such men as Isaac Sears, John Morin Scott, Marinus Willett, Alexander McDougall, and John Lamb,—all patriots of invincible ardor. A meeting which these men had set afoot was held in the long room of the Province Arms on the last day of October, and adopted an agreement—then or later subscribed to by more than two hundred merchants of the town—to import no goods from England until the Stamp Act should be repealed. The same meeting appointed a committee, made up of prominent members of the Sons of Liberty, to urge upon the other colonies the adoption of like measures of resistance, and

gave further earnest of its purpose by offering a reward of five hundred pounds for the detection of any person who should make use of the stamped paper.

The morrow of the meeting at the Province Arms was the day appointed for the Stamp Act to take effect. Sir Charles Hardy had retired from the governorship of New York in 1757, leaving the government once more in the hands of James DeLancey, the lieutenant-governor. DeLancey died in 1760, and in the following year General Robert Monckton, who then commanded the royal forces in the colony, succeeded to the governorship. But Monckton returned to England in 1763, and when the Stamp Act was passed, Cadwallader Colden, the lieutenant-governor, was the chief representative of royal authority in New York. The son of a Scottish parson and educated at the University of Edinburgh, Colden was a man of parts and of sound and varied scholarship. He was, however, wholly lacking in sympathy with popular government. Long residence in the colony had, therefore, failed to win him the liking of his neighbors, and the course which he now adopted speedily provoked their bitter enmity. "I shall give you no countenance," he told a committee



of the Stamp Act Congress, when they asked his sympathy and aid. A fortnight later the stamps allotted to New York arrived from England. James McEvers, who had been appointed stamp-distributer for the colony, refused to receive them, and resigned his commission, but Colden had them conveyed to the government house within the fort, and on the last day of October took oath to carry the Stamp Act into effect.

All Saints' Day, which had been selected by all the colonies as a day of protest, passed without incident in New York; but it was the lull before the storm. Early in the evening some hundreds of citizens, led by the Sons of Liberty, assembled on the Common, or Fields, now City Hall Park, where on an improvised gallows they hanged Colden in effigy, beside a figure of the devil that held in its stuffed hand a big boot, the symbol of Lord Bute, the reputed author of the Stamp Act. Then the mob formed a torch-light procession, and, carrying gibbet and effigies, marched down Broadway to the fort. General Thomas Gage, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, had his head-quarters in New York, and the town was filled with soldiers. Moreover, Colden, a few days before, had caused the garrison of the fort to be strengthened and

its guns to be loaded with grape and turned up Broadway. But threat of death did not dismay the angry men who now swarmed down that thoroughfare. They placed the gibbet against the door of the fort, under the mouths of the cannon, and they hammered the door with clubs, the while daring the soldiers drawn up on the ramparts to fire upon them. Next they broke open the stable of the lieutenant-governor, dragged out his chariot, and put the stuffed figures into it. Then, in full sight of Colden and the garrison, they tore down the wooden fence that enclosed the Bowling Green, and upon a bonfire kindled from this material burned chariot, gibbet, and effigies. Nor was this the end of the night's work. Major Thomas James, commandant at Fort George, was a noisy champion of the Stamp Act, and had boasted that he would "cram the stamps down the rebel throats." The holocaust on the Bowling Green was still burning when a part of the crowd made their way to the residence of James, on the corner of the present Warren and Greenwich Streets, rifled it of its rich furniture, and burned their loot in another bonfire. James was afterwards indemnified for his losses by the assembly, but like satisfaction was refused to

Colden, who, it was held, had received just, if lawless, punishment for his folly.

Gage during this eventful night did not dare to use the military, for fear of bringing on a civil war; and on the morrow Colden, retreating from the bold stand he had taken in behalf of the law, delivered the stamps to the mayor and common council, by whom they were at once locked up in the City Hall. This ended the contest, for when Sir Henry Moore, then on his way from England to assume the governorship, reached New York, his first act after taking office was to declare that he would have nothing to do with the hated papers. Scenes very like those just described had meanwhile been enacted in all the other colonies. The stamp officers, almost to a man, were compelled to resign their posts; the stamps upon their arrival were burned or thrown into the sea; and in every town leading merchants agreed to import no goods from England. Thus the fact was clearly brought home to the authorities in England that the act could never be enforced without a war. The Marquis of Rockingham was now prime minister, having replaced Grenville in July, 1765; Conway, a stout friend of the Americans, was secretary of state for the colonies in

the new ministry; and the outcome of these changes was the unconditional repeal of the Stamp Act in February, 1766. Not, however, without one of the fiercest debates ever heard in the Commons, a debate which brought the elder Pitt from a sick-bed to join Conway in championing the cause of the colonies.

There was an outburst of enthusiastic loyalty when late in May news of the repeal reached New York. Bells were rung, cannon fired, and bonfires lighted, while on the following 4th of June—the birthday of the king—the people celebrated the event with high carnival on the Common, where an ox was roasted whole and a liberty-pole erected, with the inscription: "The King, Pitt, and Liberty." Popular delight further expressed itself in petitions addressed to the assembly requesting the erection of a statue to Pitt, and that body not only complied, but voted also an equestrian statue to the king, to be set up in the Bowling Green. The statue of Pitt, which represented the great commoner clad in a Roman toga, did not long occupy its original site at the corner of Wall and William Streets. British soldiers during the Revolution knocked off the head and arms of the statue, and in that sorry state it passed from one hand to another,

until it found a suitable resting-place in the rooms of the New York Historical Society.

The era of good feeling which followed the repeal of the Stamp Act lasted little more than a twelvemonth. Townshend, the evil genius of George III., became chancellor of the exchequer in July, 1766, and in the following year, emboldened by the malady which barred Pitt from an active part in affairs, and urged on by the king, he pushed through Parliament new measures for taxing America. The Townshend acts of 1767 imposed duties on wine, oil, and fruits if carried to the colonies from Spain or Portugal; on glass, paper, lead, and painters' colors; and lastly on tea. The revenue from these duties was to be devoted to paying a fixed salary to the royal governors and to the judges appointed at the king's pleasure, while the crown was also empowered to create a general civil list in each colony, and to grant salaries and pensions at will. Townshend thus aimed at American self-government a deadlier blow than that designed by the Stamp Act; but even more galling to the colonists were the temper and purpose behind a special act which at the same time received the sanction of Parliament. The people of New York, under the Mutiny Act passed in the

previous year, had been required to furnish quarters for all soldiers stationed among them by royal command, and to provide certain supplies for their maintenance. The provincial assembly, however, had put aside the especial instructions from England, and insisted upon providing the supplies in its own way. Parliament, to rebuke this bold spirit, now passed an act suspending the legislative power of the assembly, and forbidding the governor to assent to any bill from it until it should have complied with the terms of the Mutiny Act. The assembly, nevertheless, met as usual, and continued to transact business until formally dissolved by the governor. Moreover, when a new assembly, convened in 1769, yielded with ill grace to the royal demands, a great meeting held on the Common sternly rebuked its submission, while the leaders of the Sons of Liberty openly charged it with a betrayal of its trust.

A swift fever had ere this made an end of Townshend, but not before the acts of which he was the author had again arrayed all the colonies in open hostility to the crown. Leading merchants in most of the towns once more agreed, as in the case of the Stamp Act, to import no English goods until the Townshend acts

should be repealed; and so faithfully was the agreement kept that trade with England was brought almost to a standstill. This bred distress among those interested over sea; the merchants of London, seeing ruin ahead of them, earnestly petitioned Parliament that the new taxes be taken off; and after long discussion Lord North, who was now at the head of the exchequer, promised the repeal of all of the Townshend acts except the one which laid a duty on tea. That was the least of the taxes, and the king insisted upon its retention, to save the principle of the bill and show that Parliament had not reconsidered its right to tax the colonies.

An ominous thing had happened the while in New York. Ever since the passage of the Stamp Act there had been bad blood between the soldiers and the citizens, many of whom were quartered in barracks standing on the line of Chambers Street, and were thus brought in daily contact with the people. The liberty-pole on the Common set up in 1766 had quickly become the rallying-point of the patriots, and, by the same token, an eyesore to the soldiers. Thrice the pole was cut down by the British troops, and as many times restored by the Sons of Liberty. A

fourth pole, fastened with iron braces, held its place until the night of January 16, 1770, when a party of the Sixteenth Regiment cut it down, hewed it into pieces, and piled the fragments in front of Montagne's Tavern, in Broadway near Murray Street, at that time the head-quarters of the Sons of Liberty. The anger provoked by this act was still hot when, two days later, Isaac Sears came upon three soldiers who were posting up placards abusive of the Sons of Liberty. Sears and a companion arrested two of them, and were conducting them to the office of the mayor, when they were halted by a reinforcement of twenty soldiers, who with swords and bayonets essayed the rescue of their comrades. Citizens, armed with stakes wrenched from the carts and sleighs that stood about, rushed to the aid of Sears, and a brisk exchange of blows was in progress when the mayor appeared and ordered the soldiers to their barracks. Followed by the citizens, the soldiers retired to Golden Hill, in John Street, near William. There they turned and charged upon their pursuers, and half a dozen had been wounded on either side when a party of officers came upon the scene and ordered the soldiers to their barracks. They obeyed for the moment, but next morning re-



newed the conflict by thrusting a bayonet through the dress of a woman returning from market. An hour or two later they attacked a party of sailors, and had given one of them a mortal thrust, when a band of Liberty Boys came to the rescue and drove off the assailants. Again in the afternoon a party of soldiers charged without provocation upon a group of citizens assembled on the Common, but again the Liberty Boys, hearing shouts and the sound of blows, hurried to lend a hand to their townsmen, and the soldiers, after a sharp encounter, were driven to their barracks. Thus ended the two days' fighting known as the battle of Golden Hill. This contest took place six weeks before the massacre in King Street, Boston, and five years prior to the battle of Lexington; so that New York has reason for the claim that in her streets the first blood was shed, the first life sacrificed to the cause of freedom. One of the immediate results of the Golden Hill incident was an order from the mayor that thereafter no soldier should appear outside the barracks when off duty unless accompanied by a non-commissioned officer; and the Sons of Liberty, thus freed from annoyance, lost little time in the erection of a fifth pole on the Common, taller than any of its predecessors,

which bade defiance to the royal soldiery until the opening of the Revolution.

Lord North became prime minister late in January, 1770, and in April following he carried through Parliament the promised repeal of all the Townshend acts, save the one imposing a duty on tea. The first effect of this partial repeal was to weaken the spirit of opposition in the colonies. The merchants of New York withdrew in July from the non-importation agreement, and sent orders to England for all sorts of merchandise except tea. Before the end of the summer most of the other colonies, while denouncing New York's defection, followed her example, and for the moment brought to naught the non-importation policy which hitherto had been relied upon to force the repeal of the Tea Act. Nevertheless, on both sides of the sea clear-headed men had been quick to perceive that a compromise which yielded nothing in the matter of principle would do no lasting good; nor was George III. the sort of man to rest content with a barren victory. Instead, he hastened to make use of what seemed to the royal mind a favorable opportunity for a final test of the tax on tea. The East India Company was in sore need of money, partly through loss of its Ameri-

can trade, for the colonists since the passage of the Townshend acts had smuggled their tea from Holland. Mere force could not stop the smuggling; but, and this without abating the duty of three pence on a pound, a way might be found to sell English tea in America cheaper than foreign tea. The East India Company paid twelve pence to the royal treasury on every pound of tea it imported; and that it might sell its tea cheap in America, it was now relieved of this tax on all consignments to the colonies. The Americans, argued the king and his advisers, would no longer object to the principle involved in the duty when they found that, despite its retention, English tea could be bought for less than the tea smuggled from Holland. Accordingly, in the fall of 1773, the East India Company sent tea-laden ships to New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston, where agents had been appointed by letter to receive the tea.

An ingenious scheme for ensnaring the colonists; but the sequel proved that they were of one mind in the determination to buy nothing with a Parliamentary tax on it. When the "Dartmouth," first of the tea-ships, arrived at Boston, late in November, a band of patriots, disguised as Indians, threw the chests overboard

into the harbor. A few days afterwards, at Philadelphia, the ship designed for that port was stopped before it had come within the jurisdiction of the custom-house and its captain forthwith compelled to set sail for England. At Charleston the tea was landed, but, the consignees having resigned, there was no one to receive it or pay the duty, and a public meeting saw to its secure bestowal in a damp cellar. New York, when the time came, followed an equally effective course. A great meeting held at the City Hall resolved not to permit the landing of the tea, and the Sons of Liberty promptly reorganized to shape this resolve into deeds. Adverse winds delayed the arrival of the "Nancy," the tea-ship destined for New York; but when she finally reached the Hook on April 18, 1774, she was not allowed to enter the bay, and her captain, convinced that he had come on a bootless errand, sailed again for England. He got off more easily than the skipper of the merchant ship "London," which arrived about the same time with sundry boxes of tea hidden in her cargo. The Liberty Boys boarded the "London," threw the chests into the harbor, and bade the captain cross the Atlantic, which he was wise enough to do peaceably and without delay. When he set

sail, the cannon roared a triumph and the flag on the rebuilt Liberty Pole waved a farewell amid the derisive cheers of the people.

Once more was the issue squarely joined between crown and colonies. The Americans would not obey Parliament, would be governed only through their own assemblies. King and ministers must abate their claims or resort to force, and choice of the latter weapon meant revolution.

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## XI

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### *First Blows for Liberty*

THE king and his ministers resolved, however, to resort to force. "To repeal the tea duty would stamp us with timidity," said Lord North, when such a measure was proposed. Instead, he forthwith framed sundry acts designed to make rebellious Massachusetts an example to the other colonies. One act closed the port of Boston, transferring its trade to Salem until the former town should have indemnified the East India Company for the loss of its tea; a second suspended the charter of the colony; a third provided for the quartering of troops within the province; and a fourth legalized the transfer to England of trials growing out of attempts to quell riots in the colony. All four, despite the strenuous opposition of Burke, Barré, Fox, and other friends of the colonies, were passed by Parliament in April, 1774, and were contemplated by George III., as he himself declared, "with supreme satisfaction."

News of their passage reached America early

in June, and the king's war upon Massachusetts at once arrayed all the colonies in her defence. "Don't pay for an ounce of their damned tea," ran the message sent by Christopher Gadsden, South Carolina's patriot leader, to the men of Boston. Colonel George Washington, of Virginia, declared that if need be he would raise a thousand men, subsist them at his own expense, and march at their head to the relief of the town; while in New York the sympathy of the Sons of Liberty took practical shape in a proposal for a Continental Congress. This proposal, made at the instance of John Jay, a young lawyer of Huguenot descent, found quick and general approval, and every colony, save distant Georgia, sent delegates to the Congress, which assembled at Philadelphia in September. Jay headed the New York delegation, which included Philip Livingston, John Alsop, Isaac Low, and James Duane, and led in the framing of a declaration of colonial rights, which claimed for the American people "a free and exclusive power of legislation in their provincial legislatures, where their rights of legislation could alone be preserved in all cases of taxation and internal polity." The Congress, besides adopting this declaration, formed an association pledged to import no

goods from England or the West Indies; and before it dissolved appointed the 10th of the following May for a second congress.

A little later New York's half-royalist assembly adjourned, never to meet again, and its place was taken by a Provincial Congress. This body, made up in the main of unyielding patriots, had not yet begun its labors when, on a Sunday afternoon of April, 1775, a messenger rode post-haste down the Bowery Lane, and by loud blasts of a trumpet summoned the people to the Common, there to be told that the battle of Lexington had been fought and the British troops driven into Boston. Though part of a regiment of royal foot was quartered close at hand, the news fired the Sons of Liberty and impelled them to instant action. Led by Isaac Sears, they rushed to the arsenal, at the corner of Broad and Wall Streets, broke open the doors, and captured six hundred muskets, which, with other arms stored in the City Hall, were distributed among the people. Before the day was ended the custom-house and general stores were seized and an embargo laid upon the vessels in port destined for the eastern colonies, while a volunteer corps assumed the temporary government of the city. Twelve days later a meeting of the citizens for-



mally placed control of municipal affairs in the hands of a committee of one hundred, headed by Isaac Low, the people pledging obedience to its orders until other arrangements should be made by the Continental Congress.

Moving incidents now followed fast upon one another, two of which demand a place in this chronicle. A quantity of military stores belonging to the royal troops were stored at Turtle Bay, on the North River, near the foot of Forty-seventh Street, and the Sons of Liberty resolved upon their capture. Led by John Lamb, they made a night sally upon the store-house, surprised the guard, and carried off the booty, a part of which was sent to the patriot army at Cambridge. A few days after this event orders came for the royal troops stationed in New York to embark for Boston. The Sons of Liberty at first demanded that the British soldiers be made prisoners; but, yielding to more temperate counsels, finally consented to their departure, providing they took with them nothing save their arms and accoutrements. Marinus Willett was at a tavern on Water Street, near Beekman, when on the morning of June 6 word was brought to him that the troops were making ready to embark with all their spare arms. He

hurried after them, and, overtaking them at Broad and Beaver Streets, seized the bridle of the foremost horse and checked the convoy. He was speedily joined by a score of other Sons of Liberty, and, thus reinforced, harangued the growing crowd with such effect that they seized upon the carts laden with the extra arms and, with shouts and cheers, carried them off for safe bestowal in a John Street ball-alley. Tradition has it that several of the British soldiers seized this opportunity to desert; and certain it is that the arms thus secured were used to equip the first troops raised in New York.

Meanwhile, New York had sent delegates to the second Continental Congress, and the date of Bunker Hill found its own Provincial Congress raising four regiments for the general defence of the colonies, while General Wooster, with a brigade of Connecticut troops, was encamped at Yorkville. Late in June General Washington reached New York on his way to assume command of the army at Cambridge, and, landing at what is now West Street, near Laight, was received by the Provincial Congress, the militia, and a great concourse of the "principal inhabitants." A singular coincidence, however, marked his visit. Though the patriot party

was in the lead among the people, there was a large loyalist and still larger neutral element in the town; and when on the evening of the same day the ship "Juliana" entered the bay, bringing the royal governor of the colony as a passenger from London, he, too, was welcomed with martial music and huzzas. Sir Henry Moore, dying in 1770, had been succeeded in the governorship by the Earl of Dunmore, who in the same year had given way to Sir William Tryon. That worthy's present return from a long visit to England made New York the seat of two governments, but only for a brief period. Fears for his personal safety soon caused Tryon to flee the town and take refuge on the ship-of-war "Asia," lying in the harbor.

A stirring incident which made memorable the night of August 23 probably hastened his departure. The Provincial Congress regarded the guns in Fort George and on the Battery as a menace to the patriot cause. They were also needed for the defence of the posts in the Highlands, and so on the night in question a volunteer corps, called the Hearts of Oak, undertook the execution of an order from the Congress for their removal. The task was still uncompleted when the patriots were fired upon from a boat which

had been despatched by the captain of the "Asia" to watch their movements. John Lamb, who commanded the party ashore, instantly ordered a return volley, which killed one and wounded several of the crew. A moment later the "Asia" answered by a broadside, riddling some of the houses near the Battery and killing one of the militiamen. This firing caused a general alarm, and many fled the town; but the patriots stood firm under the cannonade, and did not quit the Battery until all of the twenty-one guns had been removed to a place of safety.

One of those who had a part in the night's work was Alexander Hamilton, then an eighteen-year-old student in King's College. Myles Cooper, who in 1763 had succeeded Dr. Johnson as president of that institution, was an ardent royalist, and for his outspoken opinions had been threatened with summary punishment by the Sons of Liberty. Late on this night of August 23 a part of the crowd called into the streets by the sound of the "Asia's" guns set out for the college to put the threat into execution. But Hamilton, darting ahead of them, mounted the stoop and upbraided them with eloquence and animation "on the excessive impropriety of their conduct and the disgrace they

were bringing on the cause of liberty, of which they professed to be the champions." Meanwhile, another student, preceding the throng, had warned Cooper of his danger just in time to save him. He escaped, half dressed, over the college fence, lay secreted for the night in the house of a friend, and the following day found a haven of refuge on the "Asia," whence he made his way to England. Early in April, 1776, the college was closed, and did not reopen until the end of the war.

Another man of mark in this unquiet period was John Holt, postmaster of the town and editor of the *New York Journal*, the sturdy and unpurchasable organ of the Sons of Liberty. The heading of Holt's newspaper had once been ornamented with the arms of the king, but these were discarded in 1774 for the device of a snake cut into parts, with "Unite or Die" for a motto. The following year the snake was joined and coiled, with tail in mouth, forming a double ring, which enclosed a pillar standing on Magna Charta, surmounted with the cap of liberty. Holt's boldness compelled him to flee the town when the British entered it, but, taking his press with him, he continued to publish his newspaper at one and another of the towns on the

Hudson under conditions that would have appalled a less resolute man. He returned to New York upon the conclusion of peace, but died ere long, and was buried in St. Paul's churchyard, where his tomb may still be seen inscribed with the epitaph: "A due tribute to the memory of John Holt, printer to this State, a native of Virginia, who patiently obeyed death's awful summons on the 13th of January, 1784, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. To say that his family lament him is needless; that his friends bewail him, is useless; that all regret him, unnecessary; for that he merited every esteem is certain. The tongue of slander cannot say less, though justice might say more."

An editor of a different stamp was James Rivington, whose *Gazetteer and Weekly Advertiser* was the organ of the royalist party. Rivington wielded a keen and bitter pen, and his attacks upon the Sons of Liberty finally aroused the active wrath of Isaac Sears, who, mustering a troop of light horse from Connecticut, on a December morning in 1775 broke open the door of Rivington's office, in Wall Street, destroyed his presses, and carried off his type in bags. Rivington went to England after this raid, but returned in September, 1777, with a new press

and type, and, issuing his paper anew, continued it under the title of the *Royal Gazette* until the close of the war. He was, however, a time-server and trimmer, and, when persuaded that the colonists would gain their independence, did not scruple to act as a spy for Washington. This deceitful service made it possible for him to remain in the town after its evacuation by the British, but he never prospered, and his last days were passed in penniless obscurity.

When Sears carried off Rivington's type to be made into bullets, the Continental army was grappling with Howe for the possession of Boston. The British troops evacuated that town in March, 1776, and sailed away for Halifax. Then Washington, believing that New York would be the enemy's next point of attack, transferred his forces hither, first making his headquarters in the family mansion of the De Peysters, at No. 180 Pearl Street, but later removing to the house and estate known as Richmond Hill, near the present intersection of Charlton and Varick Streets. Comely Phœbe Fraunces, daughter of the boniface, was Washington's housekeeper, and to her fidelity the patriot leader owed the defeat of a conspiracy against his life. Governor Tryon, from his refuge on shipboard,

had laid with friends ashore a plot to seize the town and hold it for the British. One part of the plan was the murder of the American commander by Thomas Hickey, a British deserter, who had become a member of Washington's body-guard. But Hickey lost his heart to Phœbe Fraunces and made her his confidante. She revealed the plot to her father, and in good time it was made known to Washington. The would-be conspirator, when arrested, confessed his crime and revealed the details of the plot. David Mathews, the royalist mayor of the town, convicted of correspondence with Tryon, was thrown into jail, while Hickey was hanged at the intersection of Grand and Chrystie Streets, in the presence of twenty thousand spectators.

The patriot commander turned from this conspiracy in the camp to face the open attack of the enemy. It was known that the British had determined to conquer and hold the line of the Hudson River, hoping in this way to cut the colonies in twain, and afterwards to subdue them in detail. To oppose the enemy Washington had but eighteen thousand men, many of them raw levies, but he made such preparation as he could to meet the coming assault. The harbor and rivers were girded with small forts and redoubts ;



many of the streets were barricaded, and batteries stretched from river to river along the line of the present Canal Street; while at the upper end of the island and on the Jersey shore Forts Washington and Lee guarded the Hudson. Brooklyn Heights were also fortified, and a strong redoubt, garrisoned by a party of the men of Bunker Hill, was raised on Governor's Island.

These preparations were still making when, on the Fourth of July, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was adopted by the Continental Congress sitting at Philadelphia. On July 9 it was ratified with hearty unanimity by the Provincial Congress of New York, and the same evening the several brigades of the army were formed in hollow square on their respective parade-grounds, to hear the words which declared the United States free and independent. Washington was within one of the squares, surrounded by his staff, while an aide read the Declaration. This square was formed on the site of the fountain in City Hall Park. The reading finished, the soldiers sealed their approval with cheers thrice repeated, and the occasion was made more notable by the release from prison of all poor debtors, while the joy of the Sons of Liberty took shape in an act that savored

more of zeal than law. Headed by Isaac Sears, they trooped down Broadway, pulled from its pedestal the leaden statue of George III. on Bowling Green, and chopped it into a score of pieces. Washington knew nothing of this affair until it was ended, and when informed of it next day issued an order warning the soldiers not to countenance such riotous proceedings in future. He entered no objection, however, to the use that was made of the statue, for its main portions were sent to a place of safety in Litchfield, and there the wife and daughters of Oliver Wolcott, the patriot governor of Connecticut, speedily converted them into bullets. Forty-two thousand ball cartridges were manufactured from this source, thus fulfilling the threat of a patriotic New Yorker that the British troops would probably "have melted majesty fired at them."

Eleven days before the reading of the Declaration of Independence to the patriot army Howe's transports had begun to gather in the lower bay. Washington, with the forces he had, could not prevent the landing of the British troops, and the last days of July saw thirty thousand encamped on Staten Island. But Howe was a slow-moving and cautious man, and it was not until August 22 that he landed

twenty thousand men at Gravesend Bay, and made ready to dislodge the patriot forces from the Heights of Brooklyn. Four days were spent in reconnoitring, and then in the early morning of the 27th the blow fell. The British attack was made in three divisions. Putnam, who had half of Washington's army under his command, was no match for the foe. Instead, he was surprised and outgeneralled at every point, and while some of the American troops fought with desperate valor, notably the men of the Maryland line, they were finally driven into their works, with a loss of four hundred killed and a thousand taken prisoners. The close of the day found Putnam and his men cooped up on a point of land extending out into the water and seemingly at the mercy of Howe. But while the British general, sure of his quarry, planned the siege that was to dislodge the Americans, Washington, who had hastened across the river to take command in person, interposed one of those strokes of strategy that proved him a master captain. Swiftly and secretly all the boats that could be found in either water from the Battery to the Harlem were assembled at the Brooklyn ferry, and the fishermen of Gloucester and Marblehead who manned them did their work so

well that during a single night every man and every gun of the beaten army were landed on the New York side. And the king's generals, who had slept within hearing of the patriot camp, woke in the morning to find that the Americans had slipped away from them.

Yet Washington could no more hold Manhattan Island with the forces at his command than he could hold Brooklyn. He had already decided upon the evacuation of the city, and had removed his head-quarters to Harlem Heights, when on September 15 Howe landed his troops at Kip's Bay, near the present site of East Thirty-fourth Street, and sought to sever the American army, scattered between the Battery and Kingsbridge. The militiamen upon whom Washington counted to delay a landing until Putnam with the divisions south of Kip's Bay should have time to retreat, broke at the first fire, and Washington himself, vainly essaying to stay their flight, was only saved from capture by one of his aides, who seized his bridle reins and forced him from the field. The British, however, moved with such slowness that Putnam, quickly warned of his peril and guided by young Aaron Burr, who knew every foot of the ground, was able, with small loss, to march

his four thousand men up the shore of the Hudson, until, passing Bloomingdale, he touched the right wing of the main army and was safe.

Not until a later time did Putnam and his men know how narrow was their escape that day. It was the purpose of the British, when they landed at Kip's Bay, to make their camp on the heights of Inclenberg, midway between New York and Harlem. The way thence led past the country-seat of Robert Murray, a Quaker merchant of large wealth and known loyalty to the crown. The shrewd merchant's wife and daughters, on the other hand, were ardent patriots, and the day before had had Washington for their guest. When Howe and his staff reached this Quaker homestead, near the junction of the present Fifth Avenue and Thirty-seventh Street, they were delighted to find Mrs. Murray and her beautiful daughters ready to greet them with a warm welcome and to renew an acquaintance made in other and more peaceful days. "William, alight and refresh thyself at our house," was the greeting of the Quaker matron. "I thank you, Mrs. Murray," said Howe; "but I must first catch that rascally Yankee, Putnam." The patriot general was not to be caught, however, if woman's wit could save him. "Didst

thou not hear that Putnam had gone?" rejoined Mrs. Murray. "It is too late to try to catch him. Thee had better come in and dine." With Putnam out of reach there was no need of haste, and so, promising to pursue the Yankees after he had dined, the British commander alighted and entered the house, where the warmth of his welcome made him unmindful for hours of the task he had in hand. Putnam, meanwhile, was hurrying towards Harlem Heights, not daring to draw breath until he caught sight of Washington's tents. Thacher, in his "Military Journal," writes that it became a common saying among the American officers that Mrs. Murray had saved the old wolf-killer and his men.

Though Washington had been compelled to retire from New York, he was still resolved to fight whenever there was the least promise of success, and the morrow of Howe's landing was marked by a skirmish that put new hope into the hearts of the Americans. The British forces on the morning of September 16 extended in a diagonal line from the Beekman house, at Fifty-first Street, near the East River, where Howe had his head-quarters, to the Apthorpe house, at Ninety-first Street and Tenth Avenue, where Clinton and Cornwallis were sta-

tioned. The American lines extended from the mouth of the Harlem westward across the island. Early on the morning of the 16th Washington, anxious to force the hand of the enemy, sent Colonel Thomas Knowlton and his Connecticut Rangers to reconnoitre. Knowlton's party came in contact with the British pickets at One Hundred and Fourth Street and the Boulevard, then the Bloomingdale Road, and after a half-hour's hard fighting were compelled to slowly give way before superior numbers. The British now advanced and occupied the hill near Grant's Tomb, but only to be made the victims of a surprise planned by Washington. To draw them from the hill the American commander threw a body of volunteers into the valley between the hill and the American lines, known as the Hollow Way, while he ordered two hundred men under Knowlton and Major Andrew Leitch, of Virginia, to make a circuit and catch them in flank and rear. The British took the bait, and a brisk fight was in progress in the valley when, of a sudden, the second American detachment appeared on some rocks at One Hundred and Twenty-third Street and the Boulevard and began a fierce attack upon the enemy's flank. Both Leitch and Knowlton were mortally

wounded early in the action, but the Americans, despite the loss of their leaders, fought with stubborn valor and step by step drove the British into a buckwheat field at One Hundred and Twentieth Street, now part of the ground west of Columbia University. Here the British made a second stand, and here, both sides having been strongly reinforced, occurred the hardest fighting of the day. The enemy held their ground for upward of an hour, but were finally routed, and the end of the battle found the Americans holding the ground from which Knowlton had been driven in the morning. About a hundred of the Americans and thrice as many British had been killed and wounded; and so keenly did Howe and his generals take to heart the lesson of this severe skirmish that nearly four weeks passed before they again hazarded an attack upon the patriot army.

During this period of waiting Captain Nathan Hale met the fate that gives him a place in the story of the Revolution. After the defeat of the American forces on Long Island, Washington was in sore need of knowledge of the movements of the enemy, and Hale, a Connecticut school-master turned soldier, volunteered to enter the British lines in disguise and obtain this knowl-



edge. Accordingly, he disappeared from camp, passed up the Connecticut coast, changed his uniform for civilian garb, crossed to the Long Island shore, and then made his way to the enemy at Brooklyn and New York. He had finished his work, and was seeking to rejoin the American forces, when he was seized within the British picket-line on the Harlem River front, near One Hundred and Tenth or One Hundred and Twelfth Street, and on the night of September 21 brought before General Howe at the Beekman house. The British general, waiving a court-martial, pronounced Hale a spy, and ordered his execution to take place on the following morning, after which he was put into the care of a provost marshal, who refused to grant him the services of a clergyman, denied him the use of a Bible, and destroyed before his eyes the letters he had written to his sisters and his sweetheart. Hale was executed near the corner of Forty-fifth Street and First Avenue, meeting the end with steadfast bravery. "This is a fine death for a soldier," said one of the British officers who surrounded the place of execution. "Sir," replied Hale, lifting up his cap, "there is no death which would not be rendered noble in such a glorious cause. I only regret that I have

but one life to lose for my country." The loud roll of drums cut off further speech, and in another moment Hale had passed into silence.

Howe for nearly a month remained fronting the American lines. Then the British frigates forced the passage of the Sound and Hudson, and Washington was compelled to withdraw the main part of his army into Westchester County. Nevertheless, he held his own before the British in a sharp encounter at White Plains in the last days of October, and did not loose his hold upon Manhattan Island until in mid-November Fort Washington, held over-long by Greene, was attacked by Howe with sudden energy. The fort was taken after a sharp struggle, and its capture carried with it the surrender of three thousand of the best troops in the American army. This heavy blow was followed within the week by the loss of Fort Lee. Washington's dwindling forces retreated into the Jerseys, and New York was left in the hands of its captors.

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## XII

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### *The Town in Captivity*

NEW YORK paid a heavy price for its part in the struggle for independence. For seven years it was in the thrall of the enemy, during which period it lost more than half of its population and all of its commerce, and was twice visited by destructive fires. The first of these broke out six days after the entry of the British army, and swept from Whitehall through Broad and Beaver Streets to Broadway, and thence, sparing the western side of the Bowling Green and of Broadway above Trinity Church, burned all the western part of the town, to and including the southern side of Vesey Street, leaving behind it the blackened ruins of five hundred homes. A second fire, in August, 1778, reduced to wreck three hundred buildings in the region south of Pearl Street, between Coenties and Old Slips. Thus a full fourth part of the town was laid in ashes; nor was any attempt made to repair this devastation until the end of the British occupation.

New York during the greater part of its seven years' captivity was also a city of prisons. No sooner was it in the hands of the enemy than every available building was turned into a prison, for five thousand patriot soldiers had been captured at Long Island and Fort Washington,—a hapless army whose ranks were steadily swelled by men taken on other fields. The Middle Dutch Church, shorn of pulpit and pews, was made to furnish room for three thousand prisoners, and almost another thousand were confined in the North Dutch Church, which later became a riding academy for the British officers. The Brick, Huguenot, and Lutheran churches were also used as prisons; and when these could no longer house the captive throng, Van Cortlandt's and Rhinelander's sugar-houses, and another structure of the same sort in Liberty Street, near the Middle Church, were pressed into service. The second of the sugar-house prison-pens is remembered by men not yet old, for it stood until a few years ago at the corner of William and Duane Streets.

An indelible stain on the memory of Lord Howe is the record of the brutal and wanton treatment meted out to the men confined in these places. Adolph Meyer, of Lasher's battalion,

who was long imprisoned in the North Church, has left a vivid account of his own and his comrades' sufferings. "Many prisoners," he writes, "died of want. No care was taken of the sick; and if any died, they were thrown at the door of the prison, and lay there till the next day, when they were put on a cart and drawn out to the intrenchments, where they were buried by their fellow-prisoners, conducted thither for the purpose." "I have had men die by the side of me in the night," a second captive tells us; "and I have seen fifteen dead bodies sewn up in their blankets and laid in the corner of the yard at one time. Once I was permitted to go with the guard to the place of interment, and never shall I forget the scene that I there beheld. They tumbled them into the ditch, threw on a little dirt, and then away. I could see a hand, a foot, or part of a head, swollen and falling to decay." Other contemporary narratives tell a similar story. "I have gone into a church," writes Colonel Ethan Allen, who was a prisoner in New York in 1777, "and seen sundry of the prisoners in the agonies of death in consequence of very hunger, and others speechless and near death, biting pieces of chip; others pleading for God's sake for something to eat, and at the same



BRIDEWELL ON THE COMMON, 1789—USED AS A PATRIOT PRISON DURING THE REVOLUTION



time shivering with cold. Hollow groans saluted my ears, and despair seemed imprinted on every countenance. I have seen in one of these churches seven dead at the same time."

A two-storied structure of graystone, designed for use as a bridewell, had been reared on the Common in 1775, and into its unfinished rooms, with windows destitute of glass, eight hundred prisoners were thrust after the capture of Fort Washington, and left for three days without food. Here they remained through a long winter with nothing save iron grates to keep out the cold, and so fast did they succumb to disease and exposure that in the following May, when an exchange of prisoners took place, less than a third of the men captured at Fort Washington were reported as still living. Memories equally sinister cling to the Old Provost Prison, a three-storied building of brownstone, hard by the bridewell, erected in 1758 for a city and county jail. The inmates of the Provost included in about equal numbers British culprits and American officers and civilians of note, and they had for their keeper one William Cunningham, a renegade Son of Liberty, whose treachery had been rewarded with the post of provost-marshal, and who made it his boast that he had



starved two thousand rebels by selling their rations. Escapes and exchanges, with their grimmer allies, disease and death, gradually cleared the churches and sugar-houses of their inmates, but the Old Provost continued to be used as a military prison until the end of the war; and sorry, indeed, was the lot of the men confined within its walls. Their friends were denied admission, and supplies sent to them were seized by Cunningham and applied to his own use. If sick, they were not allowed to send for a doctor nor admitted to a hospital, and wives who attempted to visit their husbands were driven away with insults and blows. Tradition has it that the author of these outrages was afterwards hanged at Newgate for forgery, and one would like to believe that in this case she wears the garb of truth. The Old Provost, wholly changed in outward seeming, has served since 1831 as the Hall of Records, but its stout stone walls are the same that witnessed the woes of the patriot captives, and, testifying as they do to the price with which independence was bought, deserve all honor at the hands of a later generation.

Yet more pitiful was the lot of the men confined in the prison-ships. First in the North River off the Battery and later in Wallabout

Bay, on the Brooklyn side, a dozen old hulks were moored and used in succession, two or three at a time, as floating prisons. The most notorious of these, because the longest in service, was the "Jersey,"—christened by her despairing inmates "the hell afloat." A sixty-four-gun ship before her dismantlement, the "Jersey" was sent to the Wallabout in 1780, and served as a prison until the end of the war. Often a thousand men were confined on her, guarded by Hessians who mocked at their sufferings, and there they sickened, sank, and died by scores. Even on hot summer nights the hatches were battened down at sunset, and the smothering prisoners slept in serried ranks until aroused to the miseries of another day by the cry, "Rebels, turn out your dead." Thousands were buried from the prison-ships, but many survived to take terrible vengeance for their sufferings. The elder of two brothers confined in the "Jersey" fell ill of fever and became delirious. The night of his death his reason returned to him, and he spoke of his mother and begged for water. His brother vainly entreated the guard to grant this request. Then he offered a guinea for a bit of candle that he might see his brother die; but even this was

denied him. He closed the dying man's eyes in the dark, and, drying the tears in his own, recorded this vow: "If it please God that I regain my liberty, I will be a most bitter enemy." Liberty came, he rejoined the army, and when the war ended he had eight large and one hundred and twenty-seven small notches on his rifle stock. His brother was revenged. What remains of the "Jersey" now lies buried beneath the Brooklyn navy-yard. The bodies of its uncounted victims were buried in shallow pits at the water's edge, where the tide soon uncovered their graves; but in after years their bones were recovered from the ooze and given Christian burial. Many of the men who died in the city's prisons now rest in Trinity church-yard.

Most of the active patriots fled the city on the entrance of the British, leaving only the poor and the faint-hearted behind them, while many of the royalists, expelled from the surrounding country by their indignant neighbors, hastened to take up their residence in the town. New York was now the head-quarters of British power in America, its streets radiant with the red coats of the grenadiers and the plaids and plumes of the Highlanders; and for the moment the king's gold seemed to bring pros-

perity. Local trade revived, and the soldiers returned full-handed from forays into the rich farming districts to the northward, on Long Island, and in the Jerseys. It was not long, however, before the patriot forces began to overrun the countryside and cut off supplies, so that there came a day when beef sold for three shillings a pound and turkeys brought half a guinea each; oysters were held at sixteen shillings the hundred, and potatoes could not be had for less than half a guinea a bushel. Indeed, as time went on, the "refugee poor" were so hard put to it for food that a lottery was set afoot for their benefit and the theatre was put under contribution. Private charity also did its part. "On Wednesday next, being Christmas-eve," runs an announcement in the *Weekly Mercury* of December 22, 1777, "forty poor widows, housekeepers, having families in this city, will receive forty pounds of fresh beef and half a peck loaf each, on a certificate of their necessity signed by two neighbors of repute, which is to be determined at the Rev. Dr. Inglis's house in the Broadway, between ten and twelve o'clock that day, who will give a ticket for the above donation." This gift, which serves to keep green the memory of its donor, was the Christmas offering of John

Coghill Knapp, attorney-at-law, who lived at the corner of Flatten Barrack Hill, near the City Hall, in Broad Street.

Rich and poor suffered in common during the "hard winter" of 1779-80, when for upward of a month both the East and Hudson Rivers and the bay were frozen so solidly as to be travelled by teams; and such was the dearth of fuel in the town that fences, sheds, and abandoned houses were torn down to supply the want of cordwood. Many families, we are told, cooked their meals on fires made of broken chairs and tables, and in the intervals sought refuge from the cold in bed. Want of food kept pace with the scarcity of fuel. Potatoes rose to a guinea a bushel; oatmeal biscuits were doled out to the British troops; a turkey was counted cheap at four dollars, and twelve times that sum, says an eye-witness, would not feed a family for two days. It was in vain that the British commander besought the farmers to bring in wood and provisions; nor did a larger measure of success attend the foraging parties sent out to scour the country. Invariably at sight of the enemy the alarm was given, and the farmers, hastily burying their corn and oats beneath the snow, would seek a hiding-place in the forest.

## THE TOWN IN CAPTIVITY

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More often than not, the British foragers, finding the barns empty, the cattle driven off, and the houses deserted, would in their anger fire the homesteads and desolate whole districts, thus helping to redeem the patriot promise "that the land should be made a desert before it should be surrendered to a king."

There was another side to the picture. Mirth and fashion claimed their own, even amid suffering and want. Sir Henry Clinton, who had now succeeded Howe as commander-in-chief of the British forces, had his head-quarters in the Kennedy house at the lower end of Broadway, and his balls and dinners, made brilliant by the presence of the flower of the royal army, failed not to find favor in the eyes of the loyalist merchants of the town and their wives and daughters. Another favorite resort of titled soldier and royalist civilian was the city mansion of Gerardus Beekman, in Hanover Square. There during the last years of the war dwelt Admiral Digby, commander of the British fleet and an old "sea-dog" of some repute. It was under him that King George's third son, Prince William Henry, the future William IV., came as a midshipman to New York in 1781, where he was received with humble addresses and much

ceremony. The patriots, on the other hand, saw in the prince a hostage worth having, and without delay a plot for his abduction was laid by Colonel Mathias Ogden, of the Jersey line, and approved by Washington. Two-score officers and men, with Ogden at their head, were to embark on a rainy night, land in New York near the Beekman mansion, force an entrance, and carry off the prince and his guardian, Admiral Digby. But the enterprise was abandoned when the British leaders, forewarned, took extra care to assure the safety of the prince. Save for this warning, the boldness of Ogden's plan might have insured its success.

When Sir Henry Clinton returned to New York in the summer of 1780, fresh from the capture of Charleston, he brought with him as his adjutant-general Major John André, and it was in the Kennedy house that the two hatched the plot which had issue in Benedict Arnold's treason and André's capture and execution as a spy. Arnold, after he fled to New York, had his head-quarters in the Watts house, at No. 3 Broadway, and made it the scene of one of the most interesting incidents of the Revolution. It was the dearest wish of the patriots

to kidnap the traitor; and the execution of a plot for this purpose was forthwith intrusted to John Champe, sergeant-major of the cavalry legion of Light-Horse Harry Lee. Champe deserted to the British, and was sent, as he had hoped, to assist Arnold in recruiting a corps of royalists and deserters. Watching the habits of his quarry, the soldier soon laid his plan and communicated it to Lee. An ample garden in the rear of Arnold's head-quarters stretched down to the river and was adjoined on the north by a dark and narrow alley leading to the water's edge. Huge trees shaded the garden, and under their wide-spreading branches Arnold often paced to and fro until far into the night. Two other patriot troopers, entering the garden from the alley, were to join their comrade on a certain night, seize, gag, and bind Arnold, and carry him in a boat ready at hand to the American camp. The unexpected, however, intervened to thwart this well-laid plan. Champe, on the morning of the night set for the capture, was ordered to embark for the Chesapeake; Arnold at the same time changed his quarters; and the sergeant's accomplices, after waiting long at the rendezvous, went back empty-handed to their camp. Champe, be it added, seized the earliest



opportunity to desert and to rejoin his comrades with the story of how the devil at the eleventh hour had taken care of his own.

Once only during seven years was there promise of New York's escape from her thralldom. That was in July, 1778, when Washington's army, again encamped at White Plains, was cheered by the arrival at the Hook of a powerful French fleet, commanded by the Count d'Estaing. A joint attack was at once planned upon New York, where lay Clinton's forces, smarting under their recent repulse at Monmouth. The defeat and capture of the British army seemed certain, for the French fleet was superior in numbers and efficiency to that which guarded the harbor. But these things were not to be, a strange obstacle compelling d'Estaing to forego a blow which, followed up by the patriot army, would have put an end to the war. It was found that the largest of the French ships could not with safety venture upon the bar at the entrance to the harbor, and with nature fighting on the side of the enemy, the projected joint attack had to be abandoned.

Three years more Washington and his Continentals battled in other fields for the freedom of America; but the late autumn of 1781

brought the surrender of Cornwallis and his army at Yorktown, and this decisive defeat doomed the policy of the king and his ministers. When, in March, 1782, Lord North and his associates bowed to the storm and resigned, their places were taken by men pledged to a speedy conclusion of the war; and although the negotiations that followed took up another year, early in 1783 word came from over sea that there was to be lasting peace based upon the absolute independence of the American States, with all their material claims to rights and territory recognized and accepted by Great Britain.

Washington, on April 19 following, proclaimed to the army at Newburg the cessation of hostilities. Sir Guy Carleton had the while succeeded Sir Henry Clinton, and the king's troops had been withdrawn from Wilmington, Charleston, and Savannah; so that when peace was announced the enemy occupied but two points on the coast of the thirteen States,—New York and a post at the mouth of the Penobscot, the latter held since 1779 as a protection for British settlers and refugees. The evacuation of New York, which now engaged the attention of Sir Guy Carleton, was a double one, for a majority of the loyalists who then filled the town

were unwilling or afraid to remain after the departure of the British, and were granted lands in Canada, where they settled. Several thousand went to River St. John, other thousands to Port Roseway, Annapolis, and Halifax, and the remainder to Port Moulton and Cumberland. The temper in which the loyalists took their departure is unconsciously reflected in a letter from William Bayard, who had long been one of the merchant princes of New York, to General Haldimand, commanding in Canada. "The shocking alteration," wrote Bayard, in August, 1783, "in this once happy country and the good people of it since I had the honor of taking your excellency by the hand, owing to the wicked, infamous, and unprovoked rebellion, it is not possible to commit to paper nor tongue to express,—and the peace, as it is termed, worse than all both for poor old England and the king's truly loyal friends in this country. The rebels—for I shall never call them anything else—have confiscated every shilling of my valuable property in this country and passed an act of attainder against my person, so that I am now going off in a manner a beggar to my children and friends in old England,—the reflection almost too shocking for human nature to bear; but

such is mine and the hard fate of many others." Bayard's letter voiced a common sentiment, and leaves no cause for wonder why the patriots should have harbored against the loyalists a resentment so bitter as to find expression in threats of personal insult and injury if they failed to remove from the country. Their going worked sharp discomfort and heavy loss to the exiles; but it had its compensations, for it freed State and nation of what of a certainty would have proved a disturbing and mischievous element during the most critical period of our history.

The removal of the loyalists gave full occupation for many months to the king's ships in American waters, and November of 1783 came before Carleton was able to fix the 22d of that month as the day of the departure of the six thousand British troops remaining in New York. Washington meantime had disbanded nearly all the Continental army, retaining only a small force with which to occupy the city when the enemy left it. Biding their departure, he took quarters on the 19th at Day's Tavern, near the corner of One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street and Eighth Avenue, while the troops which had come with him from West Point—two regiments of foot and two companies of artillery, number-

ing in all some eight hundred men—encamped at McGowan's Pass, within and near the present northeastern entrance of Central Park. A rain set in on the morning of the 22d, and the evacuation was accordingly postponed until the 25th.

The morning of the eventful day broke bright and clear, and at an early hour the bronzed and scarred veterans of the patriot army marched down the post-road and into the Bowery, halting at the British picket-line, near the site of Cooper Institute. An hour after noon, the British pickets having been withdrawn the while, the Continentals reformed and marched by way of the Bowery Lane, Chatham, Pearl, and Wall Streets to Broadway. A joyous but motley assemblage cheered their progress and gave greetings equally hearty to the civic procession which came after them. This second procession followed the route the troops had taken, and was led by a body of light-horse. Then came Washington and Governor George Clinton and their suites on horseback; then the lieutenant-governor and members of the Council; then officers of the patriot army, Knox, Steuben, and others; next citizens on horseback, and last the Speaker of the Assembly and citizens on foot. The military had halted at the

## THE TOWN IN CAPTIVITY

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corner of Rector Street and Broadway, and there, upon the arrival of the civic procession, the soldiers presented arms, the drums beat, and the artillery fired a salute, after which came congratulatory addresses from the citizens to the governor and general.

Meantime, Major-General Henry Knox, acting for Washington, had despatched a company of light infantry and another of artillery to take formal possession of Fort George. Around and beyond Governor's Island lay the British fleet, awaiting the barges filled with redcoats and Hessians, which had put off from shore as the Americans approached the Battery. "The troops just leaving us," writes an eye-witness, "were as if equipped for show, and, with their scarlet uniforms and burnished arms, made a brilliant display; the troops that marched in, on the contrary, were ill-clad and weather-beaten, and made a forlorn appearance; but they were our troops; and as I looked at them and thought upon all they had done and suffered for us, my heart and my eyes were full, and I admired and gloried in them the more because they were weather-beaten and forlorn." Soon the last red-coat had left the shore, and the ceremony of the evacuation and occupation was at an end. There

remains to be recorded, however, an incident that had no place in the formal programme for that eventful day. When the American detachment entered Fort George, it was found that the departing British had greased the flag-staff from top to bottom, knocked off the cleats, and carried off the halyards, thus hoping to delay the hoisting and salute of the American flag until they were out of sight and hearing. They reckoned without their host. New cleats were cut with all haste, a sailor boy nailed them to the staff, and, climbing as he nailed, mounted quickly to the top. Then new halliards were reared, and as the stars and stripes were raised thirteen rounds fired from John Bull's guns rung their echoes in the ears of his discomfited troops weighing anchor in the harbor, and gave apt, if unexpected, climax to his leave-taking of half a continent. A few of the British ships, having reserved that right, lingered in the bay for some days, but on the 5th of December they, too, sailed away, and left America to her new destiny. There was a public dinner at Fraunces's Tavern on the afternoon of the formal evacuation, which concluded with the toast, "May the remembrance of this day be a lesson to princes;" and on the following seventh night



FRAUNCE'S TAVERN, WHERE WASHINGTON TOOK FAREWELL OF HIS OFFICERS





there was a grand display of fireworks, "such as the city had never witnessed before."

One incident, the most moving and tender of all, remained to make the story of the evacuation complete, and that befell at noon on the 4th of December, when the principal officers of the army gathered at Fraunces's Tavern, where Washington awaited, to take final leave of their old commander. "We had been assembled but a few moments," says Colonel Benjamin Talmadge, in his memoirs, "when his excellency entered the room. His emotion, too strong to be concealed, seemed to be reciprocated by every officer present. After partaking of a slight refreshment in almost breathless silence, the general filled his glass with wine, and, turning to the officers, said, 'With a heart full of love and gratitude I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable.' After the officers had taken a glass of wine, the general added, 'I cannot come to each of you, but shall feel obliged if each of you will come and take me by the hand.' General Knox, being nearest to him, turned to the commander-in-chief, who, suffused in tears, was incapable of utterance, but grasped

his hand, when they embraced each other in silence. In the same affectionate manner every officer in the room marched up to, kissed, and parted with his General-in-Chief. Such a scene of sorrow and weeping I had never before witnessed, and I hope I may never be called upon to witness again. Not a word was uttered to break the solemn silence that presided or to interrupt the tenderness of the scene. The simple thought that we were about to part with the man who had conducted us through a long and bloody war, and under whose conduct the glory and independence of our country had been achieved, and that we should see his face no more in this world, seemed to be utterly insupportable. But the time of separation had come, and waving his hand to his grieving children around him, he left the room, and passing through a corps of light infantry who were paraded to receive him, he walked silently on to Whitehall, where a barge was waiting. We all followed in mournful silence to the wharf, where a prodigious crowd had assembled to witness the departure of the man who, under God, had been the great agent in establishing the glory and independence of these United States. As soon as he was seated, the barge put off into the river, and when out

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in the stream, our great and beloved general waved his hat and bade us a silent adieu." Another fortnight, and Washington, having resigned his commission to Congress, was once more a private citizen at Mount Vernon. The war was indeed at an end.



*SECTION THREE*

NEW YORK  
AS  
A FREE CITY





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## XIII

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### *The Federal Capital*

NEW YORK, when evacuated by the British, had a population of less than ten thousand, and what with its ruined trade, an empty treasury, the wreck left by fire, and all the other evils of a seven years' occupation by an enemy, its condition was miserable to the last degree. Its citizens, however, faced the future with stout hearts. "The town is ruined by the war, but its future greatness is unquestionable," wrote one of them; and in this hopeful spirit was begun the work of building anew,—a work pushed with such resolute purpose that within eight years from the date of the town's evacuation its population trebled and its commerce



regained and passed its former limit. Not only was trade with England and the West Indies revived, but the ships of New York speedily became familiar objects in French, German, and Russian harbors, and ere long strove with the merchants of Salem and Boston for the rich trade of China and the East.

The Chamber of Commerce, founded in 1768, was reorganized in 1784, and the latter year also witnessed the setting afoot of the town's first bank and its first insurance company. Alexander Hamilton, now a lawyer of growing repute, led in the establishment of the Bank of New York, and every man of note in the city subscribed to its capital stock of half a million dollars in gold and silver. General Alexander McDougall, whilom Son of Liberty and Revolutionary veteran, was its first president. The bank began business at the Walton House, in Pearl Street, but in 1797 removed to the corner of Wall and William Streets. It was the only bank in the city until 1799, when that of the Manhattan Company was established by Aaron Burr and his friends. The Mutual Assurance Company against Fire was made up at the beginning of twenty-four members and confined its risks to buildings within two miles of the

City Hall. John Pintard was the originator and first president of this organization, which survives under the name of the Knickerbocker Fire Insurance Company.

Stage lines after 1785 connected New York with Albany, Boston, and Philadelphia. The route to Albany was by the Bowery Lane and Kingsbridge Road to Kingsbridge, and thence along the Hudson River. Stages left both ends of the route twice a week. Three days were required for the trip in summer; and four or more in winter, a day's journey lasting from five o'clock in the morning until ten in the evening. The Boston stages left New York three times a week, by way of the Bowery Lane and post-road to Harlem, and thence eastward, covering the distance between the two cities in six days by travelling from three o'clock in the morning until ten at night. Stages for Philadelphia left Paulus Hook, now Jersey City, every morning and afternoon, and the journey was made in three days. The stages on all the routes were drawn by four horses, and could accommodate twelve passengers, while the fare was four pence a mile, fourteen pounds of baggage being carried free.

The Merchants' Coffee House, long the most

frequented resort in the town, had now fallen upon evil days, and in 1792 its place was taken by the Tontine Coffee House, which stood on the corner of Wall and Water Streets, and for upward of thirty years furnished a meeting-place for the merchants. The first floor of the Tontine was in one room, running the full length of the house, wherein foregathered of an evening the wealthy men of the town, to sip their coffee or their beer and to plan, amid the curling smoke from their pipes, the operations of another day. Most of the auctions were held in front of the Tontine, and there the local members of the Society of the Cincinnati dined in state on every Fourth of July. It was also a favorite place for important public meetings, and when vital interests were at stake a voice that went forth from the Tontine was sure to be heard with respect. Many of the wisest charities of the city were born there, and so were banks and corporations. It served its original purpose until 1825, and remained for another thirty years one of the landmarks of the town.

The John Street Theatre, closed during the Revolution, save for amateur performances by officers of the British garrison and their friends, was formally reopened in December, 1785. A

play called the "Countess of Salisbury" was the first produced under the American flag, and for another dozen years "The Theatre," as it was popularly known, ran a smooth and prosperous course. The younger Hallam, Henry, Wignell, the elder Jefferson, Hodgkinson, Mrs. Merry (Anne Brunton), and Mrs. Marshall, whom Washington admired, were among the conspicuous players of its latter days, and by their general excellence helped to maintain the public taste on a high level. It was at this theatre that the air of "Hail Columbia" was played for the first time, having been composed by the leader of the orchestra in honor of Washington; and there also was produced, in April, 1787, "The Contrast," by Royall Tyler, the first American play performed by professional actors.

The buildings of King's College had been used during the Revolution as barracks and for hospital purposes. The institution, with its name changed to Columbia, reopened in May, 1784, De Witt Clinton entering as its first student; and this reopening led, in April, 1788, to one of the most singular outbreaks in the history of the city. The medical department of the college had its dissecting-room in the hospital building which had been erected in 1773 on Broad-

way near Duane Street. During the winter of 1787-88 many bodies were stolen from the cemeteries of the town, and these acts were charged to the medical students. Thus was bred a bitter prejudice against their profession, and when some of them carelessly exposed the limb of a body from the window of the dissecting-room in sight of a group of boys at play in the rear of the hospital, an angry crowd quickly besieged the building, broke open the doors, and gutted the dissecting-room, laboratories, and museum. No harm was done to patients and nurses, but physicians and students narrowly escaped with their lives, and were finally lodged in the jail for safety. Here the affair ended for the moment, but on the next day another crowd surrounded the jail, and when entrance was refused them, vowed death to every doctor in the town. John Jay, Baron Steuben, and other friends of order, who sought by argument and persuasion to disperse the growing crowd, were answered with stones and brick-bats, and the mayor, as a last resort, called out the militia and ordered them to fire upon the rioters. A number fell at the first volley, and the rest, seeing many of their comrades killed and wounded, broke and fled; but so rampant continued the riotous spirit that cannon



ST. PAUL'S CHAPEL, BROADWAY AND VESEY STREET, ABOUT 1840  
OLDEST HOUSE OF WORSHIP IN NEW YORK



were brought up and militiamen detailed to guard the jail. Then under cover of night the students were taken out and sent into the country until the return of the sober second sense of the people assured their safety.

This riot occurred at a critical period. New York had adopted a State constitution in 1777, and had chosen George Clinton governor. When the British surrendered control of the city, no material change was made in its government. Instead, the Montgomery charter was revived, and the power of appointment formerly exercised by the representatives of the crown vested in the governor and his council. Thus, in February, 1784, James Duane, who had wrecked his fortune in the struggle for independence, was installed as first mayor of the free city, and for five years discharged the duties of the office with zeal, tact, and ability. But while State and city passed naturally and easily from the old order to the new, the condition of the country at large was one of discontent and growing confusion. The Articles of Confederation adopted in 1778 for the government of all the States had proved a rope of sand, and men jealous for the future of their country and alarmed at its rapid drift towards anarchy were



not slow to perceive that strength and honor could only be secured by a closer union of the States. Alexander Hamilton and John Jay were among those who saw clearly what was needed, and when, in 1787, a convention sitting at Philadelphia adopted the present Federal Constitution and submitted it to the several States, both men put forth all their powers to secure their own State's ratification of that instrument. New York City followed the lead of Hamilton and Jay, but they had to face a numerous and determined opposition in the State. George Clinton, governor since 1777, and the bitter foe of any form of strong government, was the leader of this opposition, and as he was easily the most popular man in the State, the issue of the struggle was for months a doubtful one. Hamilton's masterful oratory, however, finally carried the day. Backed by the loyal support of the city, which voiced its sentiments in a monster procession made up of men of every class and condition, he went as a delegate to the State convention assembled at Poughkeepsie, and by his eloquent and persuading gift of speech won a reluctant ratification of the Constitution.

Congress, in September, 1788, declared its adoption by the requisite majority of States,

named the first Wednesday in January following as the day when the people should meet to choose electors for their first President, and provided that for the first year of government under the new Constitution New York should be the Federal Capital. Accordingly, the City Hall in Wall Street was tastefully remodelled under the skilled direction of Major Charles L'Enfant, a French engineer and architect, who had rendered gallant service to the patriot cause during the Revolution, and then, with its name changed to Federal Hall, placed by the municipality at the disposal of the general government. Within its walls the first Federal Congress organized on April 6, 1789, and, having canvassed the returns from the electoral colleges, declared the unanimous election of George Washington as first President of the United States. A week later, Washington, apprised by official messenger, left his Virginia home for New York, and on the last day of the month he was with stately solemnity inaugurated President. It was an august occasion both for town and nation. New York swarmed with visitors, many of whom slept in tents on the Common, and though Washington desired to be installed without pomp or ceremony, his wishes had small weight in the matter.

Salutes of artillery and the peal of bells ushered in the eventful day, and the procession which at the noon hour gathered opposite the President's lodging-place in Cherry Street was a varied and imposing one. There were a troop of horse, two companies of grenadiers, another of Highlanders in kilts, all the chief municipal officers, the committees of Congress, and the members of the new Cabinet, with a multitude of citizens bringing up the rear. Washington was thus escorted to Federal Hall, where he was met at the door by John Adams, who two days before had been installed as Vice-President.

"Sir," said Adams, "the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States are ready to attend you to take the oath required by the Constitution, which will be administered to you by the chancellor of the State of New York."

"I am ready to proceed," was Washington's reply. And then the Vice-President led the way to the outside gallery facing Broad Street, the President following with as many of his escort as could find room. Washington listened with closest attention while Chancellor Livingston read the oath. When the reading was ended, he kissed the open Bible, upon which his right hand had rested the while, and as he bent to

do so, murmured in an intense and fervid tone, "I swear, so help me God." The brief inaugural address that followed was delivered in the Senate Chamber, after which the President proceeded to St. Paul's Church, attending divine service, and thence went to his lodging-place. That night the city was a blaze of light, all classes participating in the general jubilee. Washington himself was an interested spectator of the display of fireworks at the Battery, returning home on foot, "the throng of people being so great as not to permit a carriage to pass through it."

Fort George had been levelled the previous year to make room for a Presidential mansion, but the new building had not been completed in April, 1789, nor was it until after the removal of the capital to Philadelphia, when it became the residence of Governor Clinton. Washington, until February, 1790, had his home at the corner of Cherry and Dover Streets, on a site now occupied by one of the piers of the Brooklyn bridge. This house had been built twenty years before by Walter Franklin, a wealthy merchant, and was counted one of the finest in the town. There the President was joined by his family in May, 1789, and there, a fortnight

later, he was seized by an illness that for a time threatened his life. The sick man faced the menace of death with the calm firmness that always came to him in moments of danger. "I am not afraid to die," he said, bidding the doctor tell him the worst. "Whether to-night or twenty years hence makes no difference. I know that I am in the hands of a good Providence." The surgeon's knife, however, worked a speedy cure. He was able within three weeks to take the air again, and in the early autumn went upon a long tour of the Eastern States. He returned from this journey late in November, and soon removed to the Macomb mansion at No. 39 Broadway, where he continued to reside during his stay in New York.

Both in Cherry Street and in Broadway the daily life of the first President was a simple and unostentatious one. He early laid it down as a rule to return no visits, but devoted one afternoon of each week to the reception of callers, showed himself every Friday evening at Mrs. Washington's receptions, and at suitable intervals invited persons of official rank or marked distinction to his table. Afternoons, when the weather was fine, found him walking on the Battery, whither all persons of fashion resorted for

their daily promenade, or threading, with his family in coach-and-six, but more often on horseback, the country roads to the north of the town. Now and then he went of an evening to the theatre in John Street, and on Sunday mornings he and his family attended St. Paul's Church. It is within the walls of St. Paul's, now that the Franklin and Macomb houses have been swept away, that one comes closest to the living presence of Washington. The cornerstone of this beautiful edifice, Mines tells us, was laid in a wheat-field near the Common in 1764, and though everything in the vicinity has undergone a complete transformation, time has worked little change in its comeliness. It was built to face the river, and once looked out upon the wooded Jersey shore. Temples of business, however, now cut off the ancient view, while custom has reversed the old order, and the chancel end on Broadway is usually spoken of as the front. Strangely out of place, too, seem the sleepers in its burial garth, but every summer pious hands garland their graves with flowers, while the names on the head-stones tell the social record of the city in what has now become the century before the last. The interior of the church has undergone little change since the first

President worshipped of a Sunday in a canopy-covered pew set apart for his use.

John Adams being Vice-President, Thomas Jefferson, after the former the American of largest experience in the field of diplomacy, was chosen by Washington to be Secretary of State. The President at the same time made Alexander Hamilton Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Knox Secretary of War, and Edmund Randolph Attorney-General, while a little later he named John Jay chief justice of the Supreme Court. These men, with their families, helped to give charm and an added attractiveness to the social life of the town. The Vice-President and his wife had their home at Richmond Hill. Jefferson resided at what is now No. 57 Maiden Lane. The modest home of Hamilton, who had married a daughter of General Philip Schuyler, was at No. 58 Wall Street. General and Mrs. Knox resided in lower Broadway, in a roomy brick house with a garden running back to the river; and Randolph and his wife had lodgings in the same thoroughfare. After Mrs. Washington, the sovereign of matters social was Mrs. Jay, formerly Sarah Van Brugh Livingston, a woman of exceptional grace and loveliness of person, said by her friends so to resemble Marie An-

toinette as to be once mistaken for the queen by the audience of a theatre in Paris, who on the entrance of the American beauty rose to do her homage. The town house of the Jays, a three-storied dwelling of hewn stone, stood at what was then No. 133 Broadway, and in its pleasant rooms again and again assembled all the gay and gallant folk whose names lend lustre to the annals of the first republican court.

One gets a diverting glimpse of the fashionable gatherings of the period under review in the description quoted by Griswold of a ball in honor of Washington given by Comte de Moustier, the French ambassador. "After the President came," we are told, "a company of eight couples formed in the other room and entered, two by two, and began a most curious dance called *En Ballet*. Four of the gentlemen were dressed in French regimentals, and four in American uniforms; four of the ladies with blue ribbons round their heads and American flowers, and four with red roses and flowers of France. These danced in a very curious manner, sometimes two and two, sometimes four couple and four couple, and then in a moment all together, which formed great entertainment for the spectators, to show the happy union between



the two nations. Three rooms were filled and the fourth was most elegantly set off as a place of refreshment. A long table crossed this room from wall to wall. The whole wall inside was covered with shelves filled with cakes, oranges, apples, wines of all sorts, ice-creams, etc., and highly lighted up. A number of servants from behind the table supplied the guests with everything they wanted, from time to time, as they came in to refresh themselves, which they did as soon as a party had done dancing and made way for another. We retired about ten o'clock, in the height of the jollity."

The three hundred persons who attended this ball seem to have made up the fashionable society of the Federal Capital; but according to Noah Webster, who was then a New York editor, the city was noted for lack of class distinction. "In point of sociability and hospitality," he wrote in 1788, "New York is hardly excelled by any town in the United States. The principal families by associating in their public amusements with the middle class of well-bred citizens render their rank subservient to the happiness of society, and prevent that party-spirit which an affectation of superiority in certain families in Philadelphia has produced in that city,—a

spirit which disturbs or destroys their public amusements, and which has given the citizens, too generally perhaps, the reputation of being inhospitable. The neatness, industry, and parsimony of the Dutch," Webster adds, "were the characteristics of the citizens of New York before the Revolution, and will probably be visible in their manners long after national distinctions are lost."

In August, 1790, New York ceased to be the Federal Capital, but this change did not rob it of its influence in political affairs. Party lines had already been clearly defined, and for upward of a dozen years this city remained one of the great fighting-grounds of Federalists and Democrats. Jay and Hamilton, the latter fresh from his masterly work as Secretary of the Treasury, were the leaders of the Federalists in city and State. George Clinton and his abler nephew, De Witt Clinton; Robert R. Livingston, long chancellor of the State; and polished and adroit Aaron Burr were the leaders of the Democrats. Burr was well born, and entering the patriot army when a stripling still in his teens won a brilliant reputation for courage and capacity. Settling in New York after the British evacuation, he quickly became a leader at

the bar and in politics, his only serious rival as an advocate being Hamilton. He was elected to the Federal Senate in 1791, defeating Philip Schuyler, and six years later was himself succeeded by Schuyler. Meantime, the Federalists, in 1795, had elected Jay governor, and in 1799 they scored another decisive victory, defeating the entire Democratic ticket, headed by Burr.

Defeat, however, only nerved Burr to further effort, and in the Presidential campaign of the following year, in which he was his party's candidate for the Vice-Presidency, he gave signal proof of his consummate skill as a politician. The odds were against him, but his tact, address, and gifts as an organizer won the day in his own State by a majority of five hundred votes; and this victory had a sequel undreamed of, perhaps, by any one save Burr himself. The method of choosing President and Vice-President then in force provided that the one receiving the highest number of electoral votes should become President, and the one receiving the next highest Vice-President—if these were a majority of all. There being no choice, Congress was called upon to elect. The votes of Jefferson and Burr tied in the electoral colleges, and, though their party had intended the one to be President and the

other to be Vice-President, Burr at once bent all his energies to secure first place. There followed a seven days' struggle in Congress, in which the Federalists as a whole, from hatred to Jefferson, supported Burr. Hamilton, however, had long regarded Burr with especial dislike and distrust. His influence thrown to Jefferson finally led to the latter's election, and at the same time aroused the covert but implacable hostility of Burr, who was thus compelled to be content with second place.

Burr's conduct, moreover, had fatally injured him in the estimation of his party. George Clinton was again elected governor, in 1801, and a little later he and his adherents formed an alliance with the numerous and powerful Livingston family to drive Burr out of both State and national politics. Thus, he was not renominated for Vice-President in 1804, and when in the same year he ran for governor of the State as an independent, Morgan Lewis, being the regular Democratic nominee, he met with crushing defeat at the polls. Burr had based his candidacy for governor on the hope that he would carry not only his own faction of the Democracy, but also the entire Federalist vote, and his defeat was due to the fact that many Federalists,

following Hamilton's lead, refused to support him. This gave a sharper edge to the hatred with which he had hitherto regarded Hamilton, and when some expressions used by the latter in private letters found their way into print, Burr made them the pretext for a personal quarrel. The duel was then a recognized feature of society and politics, and Hamilton, fearing that his power and leadership would be lost if he flinched from a meeting, accepted Burr's challenge. They met on the heights of Weehawken in the early morning of July 7, 1804, and Hamilton fell at the first fire. He died in the afternoon of the following day, and friend and foe, forgetting in his tragic end all save what was best in the man, sorrowed in common over the grave in which he was laid to rest.

Burr left the field uninjured in body, but a ruined man, for thereafter his fellows stamped him with the brand of Cain. He took refuge in his daughter's house in South Carolina until popular indignation in a measure subsided, when he returned to Washington and finished his term as Vice-President. Then came his daring and inexplicable enterprise directed against Texas and Mexico, and his arrest, trial, and acquittal of the crime of treason, followed by long exile

in Europe. He returned to New York in 1812, resumed practice of the law, and by sheer force of pluck and talent gained large sums. But society, which had once courted, now shunned him, while death soon made his path a still lonelier one. First came the loss of his daughter Theodosia's only child, a boy, and a little later the tidings that she herself had been lost at sea while on her way to him reached the solitary man in his dingy office in Nassau Street. This sorrow befell him in 1813, and he lived on in New York for three-and-twenty years. Finally, at seventy-eight, he wooed and won a wealthy New York widow, Madame Jumel, but the union proved unhappy and ended ere long in separation. Burr died in Port Richmond, Staten Island, alone and unattended, at the age of four score. His remains lie at Princeton, and the memory of him that endures is that of a man who knew how to win all things in life save mastery of himself.

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## XIV

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### *Building for the Future*

NEW YORK on the turn from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century had reached a population of sixty thousand, and the meeting of the centuries found it busy with plans that were to make it the imperial city of to-day. New streets were being laid out to the east and west of the Bowery, and a task vitally influencing the physical development of the town was being vigorously pushed to completion. This was the filling in of the Collect or Fresh Water Pond. The Collect's original outlet was a stream flowing into the East River across the low-lying region still called The Swamp, but that marshy valley had been drained a few years after the Revolution, and a new and better outlet found for the overflow of the Collect through a creek which followed the line of the present Canal Street to the North River. The pond, however, still barred the uniform expansion of the city, and, after various other plans had been discussed and put aside, that of

filling it in from the adjacent hills was adopted and carried out during the first decade of the century.

While the drainage of the Collect was still in progress, robust faith in the future prompted the appointment of a commission to plot the city south of One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street substantially as it exists to-day. Gouverneur Morris, Simeon De Witt, and John Rutherford were in 1807 appointed members of this commission, with instructions "to lay out streets, roads, and public squares of such width and extent as to them should seem most conducive to the public good." These worthy gentlemen completed their task during the next four years; and, though folk of a later time may rightly quarrel with some of their conclusions, they have good reason to be grateful that it did not fall into less liberal hands. By the plan which the commissioners prepared and put into effect the streets beginning with the first on the east side of the Bowery above Houston Street, numbered upward to One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street, and these were intersected by a dozen avenues, numbering westward from First Avenue, the continuation of Allen Street, to Twelfth Avenue, upon the shores of the North



River. What had been the potter's field since 1797 became Washington Square; Broadway and the Bowery met in Union Square; the salt-meadows on the eastern side of the city were drained to furnish a site for Tompkins Square; and the space between Twenty-third and Thirty-fourth Streets and Fourth and Seventh Avenues was set apart as a parade-ground for the military, only to shrink with the years into the existing Madison Square. Despite the scope of their work, the commissioners seem to have been controlled by the idea that they were not planning for a century, but for a thousand years. "To some it may be a matter of surprise," they wrote, "that the whole island has not been laid out as a city. To others it may be a subject of merriment that the commissioners have provided space for a greater population than is collected at any spot on this side of China. They have in this respect been governed by the shape of the ground. It is not improbable that considerable numbers may be collected at Harlem before the hills to the southward of it shall be built upon as a city; and it is improbable that (for centuries to come) the grounds north of Harlem Flat will be covered with houses! To have come short of the extent

laid out might therefore have defeated just expectations, and to have gone further might have furnished materials for the pernicious spirit of speculation."

Morris and his fellows erred, as time has demonstrated, in making a too meagre provision of longitudinal streets, but a more grievous mistake was committed in the matter of parks. "It may be a source of surprise," they wrote, "that so few vacant spaces have been left, and those so small, for the benefit of fresh air and consequent preservation of health. Certainly if the city of New York was destined to stand on the side of a small stream, such as the Seine or Thames, a great number of ample places might be needful. But those large arms of the sea which embrace Manhattan Island render its situation, in regard to health and pleasure, as well as to the convenience of commerce, peculiarly felicitous. When, therefore, from the same causes, the prices of land are so uncommonly great, it seems proper to admit the principles of economy to greater influence than might, under circumstances of a different kind, have consisted with the dictates of prudence and the sense of duty." And for this penny-wise policy a later generation is making reparation, as en-

terprises now under way bear witness, at a heavy cost in money and labor.

The opening years of the last century also saw the setting afoot of the free school system, the building of a new City Hall, and the founding of the New York Historical Society. Previous to 1805 the schooling of the city's children had been left to private effort, every church having its own school, and there being in addition many private and charity free schools; but in that year a number of members of the Society of Friends, aided by the efforts of De Witt Clinton, obtained a charter from the legislature for the Public School Society, with Clinton as its president. The society's first school was opened in May, 1806, in Madison Street near Pearl, with forty scholars. The experiment quickly won the hearty approval of the public, and the number of the society's schools grew from year to year until 1842, when a new law was enacted, providing for the establishment of ward schools, to be wholly gratuitous and supported by taxation. Thereafter the two systems were carried on side by side under the supervision of a board of education until 1853, when the Public School Society voluntarily surrendered its charter and made over its property

to the corporation. Its name and labors, however, will always be held in honor by the friends of education, for from the single school of 1806, with its forty scholars, have sprung upward of three hundred primary and grammar schools in the greater city, counting half a million pupils, while the public school system has taken root in every part of the Union.

Following the removal of the general government to Philadelphia, Federal Hall in Wall Street was again devoted to municipal purposes; but in 1800 the building of a new City Hall was determined on by the common council, and in May, 1803, the corner-stone of the present building was laid on the Common. It was ten years under way, and, though the selection of John McComb as its architect assured a structure of rare beauty and simplicity of design, the story of its building shows that the city fathers had small idea of how rapid was to be the growth of the town. When it was first occupied it had for its nearest neighbors the Bridewell on the west, the almshouse behind it, and on the east the jail, later made over into the Hall of Records. From its portico there was an unbroken view down Broadway, including St. Paul's, the wooden spire of Trinity, and the



redemption of this pledge has made the history of New York from the earliest times easy to know and understand; nor has its influence been confined within local limits. Its example was followed without delay by other communities, and similar organizations are now to be found in every State of the Union. Judge Benson was the first president of the society, which until 1809 held its meetings in the old City Hall in Wall Street. Thence it removed to rooms in the Government House, opposite the Bowling Green, where it remained until the demolition of that building in 1816, after which and until 1832 it occupied quarters in the New York Institution. Then Remsen's Building, in Broadway, was its home until 1837, Stuyvesant's Institute until 1841, and the New York University until 1857, when it removed to the building on the corner of Second Avenue and Eleventh Street, which it is now (1902) making ready to abandon for permanent and more commodious quarters facing Central Park.

Although there were no professional men of letters among the founders of the Historical Society, the New York of a hundred years ago had room for an occasional author. Charles Brockden Brown, the first American to adopt

literature as a sole vocation, was a resident of the city when he wrote his "Wieland," "Ormond," and "Arthur Mervyn," weird and mystical novels which had a vogue on both sides of the Atlantic; and in 1807 Washington Irving, then a young man of twenty-four, gave to the world his "Knickerbocker's History of New York," whose broad humor met an acclaim that decided the career of its author. Thereafter for fifty years Irving charmed and instructed his fellows, and was the man of letters who held first place in their affections, as he was also the first to lift our native literature into the popular respect of Europe. During this period no citizen of the republic save Washington had so wide a reputation as his namesake. A warehouse many years ago replaced the two-story dwelling at No. 131 William Street in which Irving was born, and the house, just across the way, in which he grew to manhood has also disappeared. Nor does trace remain of the antique dwelling on the northwest corner of Ann and William Streets in which he lived for several years with his widowed mother, or of the mansion at the corner of Leonard Street and Broadway, wherein he wooed lovely Matilda Hoffman, so soon to be taken from him by death.

New York, however, is not without more than one visible memorial of the best-beloved of its early authors. At No. 43 Bond Street stands a three-storied brick house in which Irving lived for several years when it was the abode of his nephew. Later this nephew removed to the house which still fills the southwest corner of Irving Place and East Seventeenth Street, and the new home became and remained the habitual sojourn of the uncle whenever he came from Sunnyside for a few weeks' visit to the city. A low-browed brick structure, looking as sturdy and strong as any of its more youthful neighbors, it fronts on Irving Place, but can be entered only from Seventeenth Street. A single large room aforetime occupied the entire ground story of the house, and it was then possible to gaze through ample windows down the hills at the East River filled with craft bound to and from the Sound. This was the room most frequented by Irving. Here he sat on long winter nights before the great fireplace, with his pipe and thoughts for company. The house had, besides the big room, three sleeping-rooms above stairs, of which the front one was the author's, and in the basement a tiny kitchen and a dining-room. Before the windows on Irving Place



hangs an iron balcony, and this, on the rare summer evenings Irving spent in New York, was his favorite seat.

Other literary landmarks of Irving's time demand a passing paragraph. A low brick house, with Venetian blinds and arched doorway, still standing in Beach Street near the corner of Hudson, was the first city residence of James Fenimore Cooper, and the birthplace of "The Pilot" and "Lionel Lincoln." Another shabby brick dwelling in Bleecker Street near Thompson, now sadly fallen from its former estate and given over to Italian tenants, was the home of Cooper after his return from Europe and before he went to live in the lake country; while a three-storied structure, with arched doorway and trimmings of white marble, which stands in St. Mark's Place, just out of Third Avenue, was for several years the winter residence of the novelist, wherein he wrote the greater part of "The Monikins," and from which he prosecuted the war against his critics of the press which helped to make him the best-abused author of his time. The warehouse in which Fitz-Greene Halleck long kept the accounts of Jacob Barker still stands in South Street near John, and a visit to the small

ale-house at the corner of Thames and Temple Streets again brings one in touch with the living presence of that poet. This humble resort was presided over in the old days by William Reynolds, an ex-grave-digger of Trinity churchyard. Joseph Rodman Drake introduced Halleck to the place, and there the latter met "Reynolds's pretty daughter" Eliza, with whom he maintained a warm friendship until his death.

When Drake and Halleck began their "Croaker" verses, the former was the proprietor of a pharmacy on what is now Park Row, near the corner of Beekman Street. Drake lodged in rooms above his store, and there he was seized with the malady of which he died at the early age of twenty-five. The author of "The Culprit Fay" takes his final rest in a neglected little cemetery in the Borough of the Bronx. A half-hour's walk from the Southern Boulevard brings one to an arm of the marsh which borders the Bronx and to the edge of a clump of thickly clustering trees. The ancient burying-ground lies in the heart of this copse, and from the road a narrow path leads up a slight incline direct to the poet's grave, marked by a square altar-stone set upon a marble pedestal and surmounted by a low

shaft. Graven on the stone are the lines adapted from Halleck's famous poem,—“None knew him but to love him, nor named him but to praise.”

The year which gave Diedrich Knickerbocker to literature was also rendered noteworthy by the beginning of steam navigation. The story of Robert Fulton and the “Clermont” makes romance of the best sort. Fulton was the son of a Scotch inn-keeper, settled in Pennsylvania, and began life as an artist, studying for several years with Benjamin West in London. His mind, however, was early drawn to the application of the steam-engine to ship propulsion, and he was busy with the problem in Paris when happy chance threw in his way a partner of abundant means in the person of Robert R. Livingston, then American minister to the French court. Livingston was an enthusiast on the subject, and, having aided Fulton in a series of encouraging experiments, he procured an extension of an act passed a few years before by the Legislature of New York which gave him the exclusive right for twenty years of steam navigation in all the waters within the limits of the State, provided he should produce a boat the average speed of which should not

be less than four miles an hour. Then Fulton took up his residence in New York, and, after many failures, finally perfected a model that would work. The "Clermont," which the doubting ones renamed "Fulton's Folly," was launched in the spring of 1807 from an East River ship-yard, and on August 7 began a trial trip to Albany. The journey to and from Albany was made at an average rate of five miles an hour, and thus began the changeful and mighty era of travel by steam.

The "Clermont," repaired and enlarged, was, in the summer of 1808, advertised as a regular passenger boat between New York and Albany. Fulton, meantime, built other steamboats, each one larger and faster than its predecessor, while in the fall of 1807 Colonel John Stevens, of Hoboken, who for a dozen years had been at work on the same problem, completed in the steamer "Phoenix" a formidable rival to the "Clermont." The "Phoenix" being excluded from New York waters by the monopoly held by Fulton and Livingston, Stevens sent her to Philadelphia, and thus won mastery of the waters of the ocean as Fulton had those of the rivers. Three years later Nicholas Roosevelt, acting with Fulton, introduced steam navigation

upon the rivers of the West, and the year 1818 saw the first steamers plying the Sound and the Great Lakes. Fulton died suddenly and prematurely in 1815, in the early flush of his fame, but not before both he and his rival Stevens had succeeded in bridging by steam the rivers that separate New York from the opposite shores. Stevens completed his first steam ferry-boat in 1811, and within another year Fulton had two steam ferry-boats connecting New York with Brooklyn. Coincident with their introduction came Fulton's invention of the floating bridge which rises and falls with the tide, aided by counterbalancing weights on the shore, and the spring pile devised by Stevens. These improvements quickly found favor on the ferries, hitherto propelled by sail or horse power, and the genius of steam gained final and undisputed control of the waters.

During this period of widening and quickening activity New York's foreign commerce maintained a steady growth, the ventures of its merchants reaching to the remotest seas. The greatest of these merchants was John Jacob Astor, who must always hold a place apart in any story of the commercial development of the town. Astor was born in 1763, in the village

of Waldorf, in Baden, the son of a butcher, and the youngest of four brothers, all of whom left home to seek their fortunes. The eldest settled in London, where he became a prosperous piano manufacturer. The second, Henry, came to New York, where he took up his father's trade. The third went to another part of the fatherland. The fourth, John Jacob, left Waldorf at the age of sixteen, set out on foot for the Rhine, worked his passage down that river on a timber raft, and on arriving in London obtained employment at his brother's factory. There he remained three years, acquiring English and putting by some scanty savings for the time when he should be able to realize a project upon which his thoughts were fixed,—that of removing to America.

The signing of the treaty by which Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States was announced in September, 1783, and moved young Astor to expend a third of his money for passage on a vessel bound for Baltimore. He crossed the Atlantic in midwinter, and had a long and stormy passage, the ship lying ice-bound in the Chesapeake from January until March. This detention, though wearisome at the time, was the origin

of Astor's fortune. One of his fellow-passengers was a German, who had been some years in America, where he had built up a profitable business in furs and skins, and who beguiled the long winter hours in the bay with tales of his adventures among the Indians in search of furs. With German frankness he imparted to his young countryman the secrets of the business,—how for a few trinkets skins could be bought from the Indians and sold with great profit to the furriers of New York, but that the most profitable method of dealing in furs was to buy in America and sell in London, where skins were worth four times more than in New York.

Astor treasured up this information and hastened to profit by it, but in a way that proved his native shrewdness. He landed in Baltimore in March, 1784, and thence made his way to New York, where he had a warm welcome from his brother Henry, who helped him to a place as clerk in the Gold Street fur store of Robert Bowne, a Quaker. There he earned two dollars a week, and gained an expert knowledge of skins. The following summer he made his first trip to the fur country, where, besides buying a cargo of peltry, he began a study of the Indian language which enabled him in a few years to

converse intelligently if not fluently in Mohawk, Seneca, and Oneida. The business of a furrier at that day, while admitting of unlimited extension, could be begun on the smallest scale. Every farmer's boy in the vicinity of New York had occasionally a skin to sell, nor had the time long gone by when beaver skins formed part of the currency of the city. All Northern and Western New York was still a fur-yielding country, and while the fur trade was one that rewarded the enterprise of great and wealthy companies, employing thousands of men and fleets of ships, it also afforded an opening for any young man of spirit and enterprise. Quaker Bowne's clerk under such conditions was not long content to remain in the employ of another, and in 1786 he set up for himself in a little shop in Water Street, with a capital of a few hundred dollars, part of which he had borrowed from his brother.

Young Astor could not afford a clerk at the outset, and so did everything for himself. The buying season found him with pack on back making long journeys afoot into the Indian country. The rest of the year he attended to the curing, beating, selling, and packing of his skins. He prospered from the first, and at the end of four years found a wife, who brought



him a small dowry and a genius for affairs rivaling his own. Thereafter his business grew by leaps and bounds, and the opening of a new century found him the employer of an army of buyers, trappers, and Indians. His judgment was unerring, and to-day nearly all of the routes which he organized for his men are the lines of railways which terminate in New York. One was on Long Island, a second ran along the Hudson to Lake Champlain and thence to Montreal, a third from Albany to Buffalo, a fourth followed the present route of the Erie Railway, and a fifth extended into New Jersey and Northern Pennsylvania. Remembering also his shipmate's advice that London was a better market for furs than New York, he chartered a vessel, sold a cargo to great advantage, and returned with musical instruments. Taught by this experience, he bought ships and engaged in the China trade, sending vessels around the world on each cruise, carrying furs to England, France, and Germany and European manufactures to the Orient, thence returning to New York with tea. He seemed to possess an almost intuitive knowledge of the various markets in which he traded, and despite the immense proportions his business had now assumed, he personally superintended

every part of it, exercising a minute inspection even to the smallest details. His office was in Vesey Street on the site of a portion of the Astor House, and his warehouses in Greenwich between Liberty and Cortlandt Streets.

Finally, in 1809, when he was forty-six years old, Astor embarked in what he called his "great national venture," which, notwithstanding its luckless sequel, proved him a statesman as well as a master trader. Lewis and Clark had ascended the Missouri, and had discovered and explored the upper Columbia. This fired the fancy of Astor, who as head of the lately organized American Fur Company, with posts extending from St. Louis to the Pacific, now resolved to establish a series of forts along the Pacific and on the Columbia, and thus monopolize the fur trade west of the Rocky Mountains. The first post, Astoria, was established in 1810, and was destined, in the mind of its founder, to be the commercial and industrial heart of the Northern Pacific. It was to be supplied with commodities from New York, and the same vessel was also to carry supplies to the Russian trading settlements farther north, receiving furs in exchange. Thence, laden with furs, she was to proceed to China, and return home

with teas, silks, and nankeens. Astor, in projecting this enterprise, counted on a heavy loss at the outset, but he believed that it would enrich his descendants, while its larger aspects won for him the support of the best minds of his time. "I look forward with great satisfaction," wrote Jefferson, "to the time when the descendants of Astoria shall spread themselves over the whole coast, covering it with free and independent Americans, unconnected with us but by the ties of blood and interest, and enjoying like us the rights of self-government."

The "Tonquin" and the "Lark," the first and third vessels despatched for Astoria, were lost, while the powerful Northwest Fur Company, backed by the British government, opposed Astor to the utmost, driving away his agents and buyers and claiming exclusive rights to the fur trade of the Pacific. The station of Astoria, however, was maintained for four years. Captured by the British during the war of 1812, just as peace was declared and it was about to be restored, it was wrested from its founder's hands by the treachery of one of his partners, a Scotchman named McDougall, who sold trading-post, skins, and good will to the agents of the Northwest Fur Company for about

a third of their value. Thus Astor's dream of a monopoly of the fur trade came to an end. He was wont, in after years, to declare that, save for the war of 1812 and McDougall's bad faith, he would have been the richest man in the world. As it was, middle life found him the richest in America. He began early in his business career to invest two-thirds of his gains in real estate upon Manhattan Island. He bought meadows and farms in the track which the growth of the city seemed likely to follow, trusting to time to multiply their value; and although his transactions were laughed at by his fellow-merchants, the passage of the years confirmed their wisdom. Towards the year 1830 he began to withdraw from business; and when he died, at the age of eighty-five, he left behind him a fortune of thirty millions, which has multiplied seven-fold in the hands of his descendants.

John Jacob Astor, however, was much more than the greatest financier of his time. One who knew him well declared him capable of commanding an army of half a million men. He grew with his opportunities, and an eager desire for knowledge marked every period of his life. A lover of music and the play, he also relished the society of men of letters, and among

the trusted friends of his later days were Washington Irving and Fitz-Greene Halleck, whose advice prompted the founding of the Astor Library, to which he consecrated a portion of his estate, and thus assured to himself a lasting monument in the city of his adoption.

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## XV

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### *The Second War with England*

NEW YORK was an early and heavy sufferer from the chain of events which led to the second war with England; and when Congress, in September, 1807, answered British exercise of the right of search with an act laying an embargo on all vessels in American harbors, that singular weapon of retaliation dealt what seemed at the moment a mortal blow to the prosperity of the town. "Everything wore a dismal aspect at New York," wrote John Lambert, in April, 1808. "The embargo had now continued upward of three months, and the ruination of the commerce of the United States appeared certain if such destructive measures were persisted in. Already had one hundred and twenty failures taken place among the merchants and traders to the amount of more than five million dollars; and there were above five hundred vessels in the harbor which were lying up useless, and rotting for want of employment. Thousands of sailors were either desti-

tute of bread wandering about the country, or had entered the British service. The merchants had shut up their counting-houses and discharged their clerks; and the farmers refrained from cultivating their land,—for if they brought their produce to market, they could not sell it at all, or were obliged to dispose of it for only a fourth of its value.” . . . “The amount of tonnage,” Lambert writes in another place, “belonging to the port of New York in 1806 was one hundred and eighty-three thousand six hundred and seventy-one tons, and the number of vessels in the harbor on the 25th of December, 1807, when the embargo took place, was five hundred and thirty-seven. The moneys collected in New York for the national treasury, on the imports and tonnage, have for several years amounted to one-fourth of the public revenue. In 1806 the sum collected was six and one-half million dollars, which, after deducting the drawbacks, left a net revenue of four and one-half millions, which was paid into the treasury of the United States as the proceeds of one year. In the year 1808 the whole of this immense sum had vanished!”

But only for a time. The embargo was repealed in March, 1809; and, despite the dead-

ening effect of the Non-Intercourse Act which replaced it, the commerce of New York revived so quickly that at the end of another three years the registered tonnage of the port amounted to upward of a quarter of a million tons,—an aggregate equal to that of Boston and Philadelphia combined, and nearly double that of any other American port; and although the war against England formally begun in May, 1812, bore more heavily upon New York than any of her sister cities, her merchants found a measure of compensation for their losses in privateering ventures against the enemy. Indeed, when the appeal to arms at last came, many of the city's bolder spirits, chafing under the insults to which they had been exposed, turned eagerly to a calling which combined both profit and revenge, and within four months after the declaration of war twenty-six privateers were fitted out from the port, carrying two hundred and twelve guns and upward of two thousand two hundred men. Speed in our merchant vessels had been fostered at the sacrifice of carrying capacity before the outbreak of hostilities in order to avoid search and impressment by British 'men-of-war, and by the exigencies of the forced running trade to France and the West Indies in the Napoleonic



wars. Most of the privateers which put forth from New York were, therefore, brigs and schooners of wonderful speed, and of a beauty excelling anything then known in naval construction. Well armed and heavily manned, they were rarely captured by the enemy, while the prizes that fell into their hands in every quarter of the globe brought wealth to owners, captain, and crew. One New York privateer of seventeen guns and a hundred and fifty men, during a single cruise, was chased by no less than seventeen armed British ships, but escaped them, and brought into port goods valued at three hundred thousand dollars, besides a large amount of specie. Nor was this an unusual record. Often a privateer would capture half a dozen ships while on a cruise, and return to port so depleted by prize-crews that she had scarcely men enough to handle sail.

Now and then there were desperate encounters between the privateers and boat expeditions sent to cut them out by British frigates or squadrons; and naval history holds no more stirring passage than the one which tells of the fight of the brig "General Armstrong" at Fayal. Samuel Chester Reid was the captain of the "General Armstrong," owned by a syndicate of New

York merchants. Reid, then only thirty-one years of age, had followed the sea from his youth, serving as midshipman under Truxton, and among master sailors had few equals in skill and bravery. He sailed from New York with a crew of ninety men on September 9, 1814, and seventeen days later put into the port of Fayal in the Azores for water. It was Reid's purpose to proceed on his voyage in the morning, but before the day ended a British squadron bound for Jamaica to join Cochrane's naval expedition against New Orleans cast anchor in the harbor. This squadron consisted of the frigates "Plantagenet" and "Rota," and the brig "Carnation," mounting one hundred and thirty guns and manned by two thousand men.

The "General Armstrong," with her crew of ninety men and her nine guns, the largest a twenty-four-pounder, lay in the waters of a neutral power, but this fact did not weigh with the British, who at once resolved upon her capture. The light of a full moon enabled Reid to follow the movements of the enemy, and when boats were launched and arms passed into them, he moved his vessel a little nearer to the shore and ordered her deck cleared for action. At midnight fourteen boats, each manned by forty

men, approached the "General Armstrong" in solid column, while the "Carnation," being light of draft, sailed up within shot of the privateer, to be handy should she slip her cables and put to sea. The attempt to board was made upon every side at the same instant, but the Americans were ready for their assailants, and there followed forty minutes of fierce and bloody fighting. Reid and his men, leaning over the rails, poured a deadly fire from muskets and pistols into the approaching boats. The boarders swarmed up, shouting, "No quarter!" "No quarter!" returned the Americans, shooting them down with pistols held in faces and prodding them with pikes until the sides of the vessel and the sea were stained with blood. The fight ended in the total defeat of the British. Three of their boats were sent to the bottom and four others, filled with dead, drifted to the shore. Some were left without a man to row them, and the most that any one pulled away with was ten. The British had lost over two hundred and fifty in killed and wounded. "But to the surprise of mankind," wrote an English officer, who was an eye-witness, "the Americans had but two killed and seven wounded. God deliver us from our enemies if this is the way they fight!"

The following morning, despite the protests of the governor of Fayal, the "Carnation" made sail, and, approaching within short firing distance, poured broadside after broadside into the privateer, but soon the latter's return fire so disabled the brig that she had to be withdrawn from the fight. Then the "Plantagenet" and the "Rota" approached for a general attack, and Reid, seeing that further resistance meant the useless slaughter of his men, scuttled his ship and pulled to the shore. The British, having burned the privateer to the water's edge, threatened to pursue him, but stayed their hand when Reid and his men took refuge within a stone fortress, and made ready for another stubborn defence. This fight at Fayal had a luckless sequel for the British. Ten days their ships were detained for burials and repairs, and this in turn delayed Cochrane's departure from Jamaica, so that the combined British fleet did not reach New Orleans until Jackson had possessed the city and completed the defences which made possible the crowning victory of the war. Reid and his men had saved New Orleans.

New York during the closing days of the contest resembled a city in a state of siege. Crushing reverses on land offset American suc-

cesses on the sea, and when in the spring of 1814 the British blockade was extended along the entire Atlantic coast and New York threatened with invasion, its citizens put forth feverish efforts to save it from capture and pillage. Castle Clinton, now familiarly known as Castle Garden, was built on the southwest point of the island; the North Battery at the foot of Hubert Street; Fort Gansevoort at the foot of Gansevoort Street, and Fort Stevens at Hallett's Point, near Hell Gate, with a stone tower on Lawrence Hill in its rear. The opposite shore was defended by fortifications at Benson's Point, and, in the middle of the East River, Mile Rock was crowned by a block-house and battery. Forts Clinton and Fish defended McGowan's Pass, whence a line of block-houses ran to Fort Laight on the heights overlooking Manhattanville, while on the bank of the Hudson stood a strong stone tower, connected by a line of intrenchments with Fort Laight. Equal care was given to the defence of the harbor and its approaches. Batteries were planted on the heights of Brooklyn; the forts on Governor's, Bedloe's, and Ellis Islands enlarged and strengthened, and Fort Richmond built at the Narrows, with Fort Tompkins in the rear and Fort Hudson a

little way below, while near the Long Island shore arose Fort Diamond, afterwards Fort Lafayette, built on a shoal which could only be seen at low water.

Happily, the effectiveness of these defences was never put to the test. Late in December, 1814, a treaty of peace was concluded at Ghent, and with the news of its ratification came new life and activity to New York. Its commerce revived on the instant, and the revenues of the port, which had fallen to but little more than half a million dollars in 1814, shot up in the following twelvemonth to fourteen millions. Thus began a new era of prosperity, and with it the resumption of suspended projects for the development of the town. Not the least of these was the completion of the canal on the line of Canal Street, with the consequent drainage of the swampy valley between the Collect and the North River, and the regulation of the streets laid out on the reclaimed land. But before this was accomplished building had begun north of the "Meadows" on the line and west of Broadway. By the year 1824 the lines of city blocks were advancing upon Greenwich Village, which was fast becoming a suburban ward, while a considerable settlement

was springing up westward of the Bowery, and an increasing number of handsome villas flanked the former desert reaches of upper Broadway. The population of the city had meantime increased to one hundred and twenty thousand.

The Treaty of Ghent made no mention of the causes which had led to the war of 1812,—the encroachments upon American commerce and the right of search and impressment. The former, however, ceased with the fall of Napoleon, while England quietly abandoned the latter, and these changed conditions, with the increasing trade between America and Europe, speedily brought into existence the era of packet-ships. The pioneer establishment in the New York and Liverpool packet service, a service unrivalled for the strength, beauty, and speed of its vessels, was the Black Ball Line, founded in 1817 by Isaac Wright and others. The original Black-Ballers were ships of between four and five hundred tons, and one or another of them sailed regularly on the first day of each month throughout the year. A second line, known as the Red Star, was established in 1821, with four ships making monthly departures, but sailing on the 24th of the month; and in the same

year the Black Ball Line put on four more vessels, sailing on the 16th of the month. A little later the Swallow-Tail Line was founded, with four packets, making departures on the 8th of the month, and New York could boast a fast weekly service to Liverpool. Nor was it long before others, following in the path thus marked out, established regular lines of packets to London, Havre, and Greenock. What with their speed, the uniform time of their departure and passages, and an equipment that made the old merchantmen seem shabby and inadequate, these several lines of Atlantic packets played a noteworthy part in the commercial development of New York. They brought wealth alike to builders, agents, and captains, for all, we are told, were owners,—“the agents owning, say, an eighth of a vessel; the builder another eighth, in order that he might secure the job of repairing her, which cost about five hundred dollars a round trip; the captain another eighth, that he might have the strongest of all motives to vigilance and prowess; the block-maker and sail-maker each a sixteenth, perhaps, and other persons the remainder, a packet of five hundred tons being worth about forty thousand dollars.” A passage of fourteen



days was not an unusual occurrence, and once the packet-ship "Palestine," under Captain Josiah M. Lord, landed her passengers at Portsmouth on the fourteenth day out, enabling them to do business in London on a Saturday, while the passengers of the steamship that left New York next after she did reached London on the following Monday.

A brave company were the captains, owners, and builders of the packet-ships. Most of the captains came from New England, and had been trained on board the whalers. The captain of a packet was absolute master of his vessel and of every man on board of her, and the variety of duties he was called upon to perform compelled him to be a man of affairs as well as a skilled seaman. Thus, the quarter-deck often led to the management of a line of vessels. Captain Charles H. Marshall was for a dozen years the master successively of the packets "James Cropper," "Britannia," and "South America;" and when he gave up command of the vessel last named it was to become manager and chief owner of the Black Ball Line. This splendid specimen of the master mariner left his home in Washington County, New York, at the age of fourteen, to seek his for-

tune on the seas, and nine years later was captain of a ship. Captain Edward E. Morgan, to cite another instance, filled every post from cabin-boy to commander before he assumed the management of the line of London packets later called after his name.

The captain of a packet had always to be a man of resolute courage. Such a one was Captain Benjamin Trask, for whose death the flags on the shipping in the harbor were at half-mast. Trask's ship, the "Saratoga," was about to leave Havre for New York at a time when a large number of convicts had been liberated from prison. Some of these rascals, without the captain being aware of their character, shipped as sailors on board the "Saratoga," and on the first day out proceeded to give her officers a taste of their ugly spirit. Suddenly the second mate, the first being ill in bed, received an order from the captain to take the wheel, and, going forward, found him holding a sailor at arm's length. The mutineer was quickly lodged in the cock-pit; but in another instant all hands came swarming aft, bent upon the rescue of their comrade. "The captain, outwardly calm and unruffled, ordered the second mate to run a line across the deck, between him

and the rebellious crew, and to arm the steward and the third mate. 'Now go forward and get to work,' he said, drawing his pistol. 'The first man who passes that rope I will shoot. I am going to call you one by one; if two come at a time I will shoot both.' The first to come forward was a big fellow in a red shirt. He had hesitated to advance when called, but the 'I will give you one more invitation, sir,' of the captain conquered his reluctance. He was shackled by the mates, and then conducted to the cabin, where he was made to lie flat on his stomach while staples were driven through the chains of his handcuffs into the floor. When eighteen of the mutineers had been similarly treated, the captain withdrew to the cabin and threw himself on a sofa, telling the second mate to wake him in an hour. Five minutes later he was fast asleep with the stapled mutineers around him."

Most of the merchants who were whole or part owners of the packet-ships and of the cargoes which they carried to foreign ports, began, like their captains, at the bottom of the ladder. Many of them could boast practical experience as sailors. Moses H. Grinnell, of the firm of Fish & Grinnell, long proprietors of the Swallow-Tail Line of packets, served as supercargo

in his youthful days, and so did Jonathan Goodhue, principal owner of the Black Ball Line before Captain Marshall became its directing spirit. Thomas Tileston was setting type in a Boston printing-office at the age of twelve. "By going into a printing-office," he had said to his widowed mother, "I hope to educate myself and others, and to become able to support you and the whole family." He made his way steadily, and at twenty-five was a member of the New York shipping firm of Spofford & Tileston, which had not been long in business before it sent the brig "Pharos" to Cuba for sugars. Their ventures prospered, and soon Tileston and his partner were leading factors in the Cuban coffee trade, later becoming the owners of lines of packets running to Charleston and Liverpool. Edward K. Collins in his fifteenth year was clerk in a South Street warehouse; five years afterwards he was making voyages to the West Indies as supercargo, and at twenty-three he set up for himself as a shipping merchant. A few years later, and while still under thirty, he established a line of packets between New York and Vera Cruz, following this venture with the first regular line of packets between New York and New Orleans. Before

he was forty he was the owner also of the Dramatic Line of packets running to Liverpool.

A majority of the packets were built in the ship-yards which then lined the East River front, stretching from Pike to Thirteenth Street, and giving employment to thousands of men. Indeed, Manhattan Island was at that period the head-quarters of the ship-building of the world. Chief among the men who helped to make it so were Christian Bergh, Henry Eckford, Isaac Webb, and Stephen Smith. Bergh was born a dozen years before the Revolution, and when the war of 1812 broke out had already won repute as a designer and builder of ships. Early in that contest he was sent to Lake Erie to build sloops and cutters for service against the enemy. The war ended, he established a ship-yard of his own at the foot of Scammel Street, where he gained wealth as a builder of packets for the Liverpool, London, and Havre lines. Eckford was a Scotchman, who came to America in his youth, and like Bergh was brought into prominence by the second war with England, during which he built a number of vessels for the government. He was master of every detail of his craft, and the ship "Beaver," which he built for John

Jacob Astor and which carried a cargo of eleven hundred tons in her live-oak frame, saw more than forty years of service before she was finally broken up to furnish timber for another vessel. Webb and Smith were apprentices of Eckford. Among the ships built by the former were the "Superior" and the "Splendid," for the China trade, in their time the largest merchant vessels in the United States; while among the ships designed by Smith were the packets "Independence" and "Roscoe" and the clippers "Rainbow" and "Sea Witch."

The year 1817, which witnessed the setting afloat of the first line of packet-ships, was also made noteworthy by the practical inception of an enterprise to which the modern city is largely indebted for its commercial supremacy,—the cutting of a waterway from the Hudson River to the Great Lakes. The Erie Canal in its final form was an evolution from an earlier project, fathered by General Philip Schuyler, to connect Seneca Lake with Lake Ontario and to improve the Mohawk River, but which in 1808, at the suggestion of Gouverneur Morris, was put aside for the plan of a canal from the Hudson River to Lake Erie. Two years later, a preliminary survey having been made in the meantime, De

Witt Clinton became associated with the matter, and thereafter remained its efficient promoter. The war with England and the disordered conditions that followed it prevented for several years the prosecution of the work, but in the autumn of 1815 a meeting of merchants was held at the City Hall, and a committee headed by Clinton, then mayor of the town, was chosen to prepare a memorial to the legislature on the subject.

This memorial, penned by Clinton, set forth in glowing terms the benefits to State and city of the proposed canal. Its whole line, he wrote, would exhibit boats laden with native products and with merchandise from all parts of the world. Great manufacturing establishments would spring up; agriculture would establish its granaries and commerce its warehouses in all directions. Villages, towns, and cities would line the banks of the canal and the shores of the Hudson. "If the project of a canal," said Clinton, in concluding his masterly argument, "was intended to advance the views of individuals, or to foment the divisions of party; if it promoted the interests of a few at the expense of the prosperity of the many; if its benefits were limited as to place, or fugitive as to duration; then,

indeed, it might be received with cold indifference or treated with stern neglect; but the overflowing blessings from this great fountain of public good and national abundance will be as extensive as our own country and as durable as time. It may be confidently asserted that this canal, as to the extent of its route, as to the countries which it connects, and as to the consequences which it will produce, is without a parallel in the history of mankind. It remains for a free State to create a new era in history, and to erect a work more stupendous, more magnificent, and more beneficial than has hitherto been achieved by the human race."

Clinton's memorial, giving definite direction to thought and action anent inland navigation, was followed by monster mass-meetings held along the line of the proposed water-way, and in April, 1817, an act was passed by the Legislature of New York which provided funds for the construction of a canal three hundred and sixty-three miles in length, with a surface width of forty feet, a bottom width of eighteen feet, and a water channel four feet in depth. Ground was broken on the 4th of July of the same year at Rome, on the middle section, and thereafter there was no cessation in the work. The



middle section from Rome to Utica was opened in 1820; the eastern section to Albany was completed in 1823, and two years later the entire canal was declared ready for traffic.

News of the admission of the waters of Lake Erie into the canal on October 26, 1825, was transmitted to New York City by the discharge of cannon posted at regular intervals along the route; and the same day the first flotilla bound for the seaboard left Buffalo. Borne eastward on the crest of a wave of popular rejoicing, and greeted by speeches, banquets, and bonfires, the flotilla completed on the tenth day the last stage of its triumphant journey,—the run down the Hudson in tow of the “Chancellor Livingston,”—and in the early morning of November 4 halted at the foot of the present West Tenth Street. There, amid the pealing of bells and the bellowing of guns, it was met by a committee charged with the duty of “congratulating the company on their arrival from Lake Erie,” and of conducting them to the Brooklyn Navy-Yard, where a salute was fired, and the officials of the city extended a formal welcome to the distinguished guests. This ceremony ended, “a grand procession, consisting of nearly all the

vessels in port, gayly decked with colors of all nations," proceeded to the lower bay, where Clinton, standing on the deck of the canal-boat "Seneca Chief," about which the other vessels were grouped, took a keg of lake water, and poured it into the sea, saying,—

"This solemnity, at this place, on the first arrival of vessels from Lake Erie is intended to indicate and commemorate the navigable communication between our mediterranean seas and the Atlantic Ocean in about eight years to the extent of more than four hundred and twenty-five miles, by the wisdom, public spirit, and energy of the people of New York; and may the God of the heavens and the earth smile most propitiously on this work and render it subservient to the best interests of the human race."

Thus was consummated the union of the inland and the outland seas, and New York made the gate-way to the commerce of half a continent. Janvier, regarding the construction of the Erie Canal in its larger aspects, has well said that the only similar event in our history that can be compared with it is the meeting in 1869 of the locomotives at Promontory Point, and that the building of the water-way from the

Hudson to the lakes was the most important of the acts of preparation which in the fulness of time made possible the building of the railway from ocean to ocean.

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## XVI

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### *The Town in the Thirties*

SO rapid was New York's growth during the decade that followed the opening of the Erie Canal that the year 1835 found it a city of two hundred thousand souls. Much of this increase was due to foreign immigration, whose volume, swelling yearly after the close of the war of 1812, had become so great in 1830 as to dwarf all former movements of the kind. There were English, Scotch, Welsh, and Germans among these immigrants, but the Irish were the most numerous, and, as a greater proportion, relatively speaking, made their homes in New York than in any other part of the country, helped to work a complete overturn in the character of the city's population and of its social and political conditions. Thenceforward poverty and its kindred evils, ignorance and discontent, were to influence in growing measure the history of the town.

Nevertheless, the key-note of the life of the New York of 1835 was one of widening and

joyful achievement. Not only dwelling-houses, but business and public buildings, were multiplying in every direction, and the lines of city blocks had now been carried to and beyond Eighteenth Street. The first horse-railroad, set afoot in 1831 for the purpose of connecting the centre of the city with Harlem, was in operation as far as Murray Hill, and Washington and Union Squares were on the way to become favorite places of residence for the wealthy citizens of the town, though many of the latter class still clung to the streets bordering on and adjacent to the Battery. One of the most spacious and cheerful thoroughfares in the town was Canal Street,—a full hundred feet wide, with a canal in its centre, bordered with shade-trees, upon either side of which was a broad drive lined with houses. The promenade, Dayton tells us, was Broadway, then lined by modest brick buildings, whose only adornment consisted of bright green blinds, with shining brass knockers and door-plates. Many of them below Park Place had been converted into retail stores or shops. Cedar and Liberty Streets, east of Broadway, with Maiden Lane, and John and Fulton Streets, were also given up to business purposes; but Park Place, Barclay, Mur-

ray, Warren, Chambers, and Beekman Streets were still tenanted by the best families.

An English visitor had a few years before described New York as the gayest place in America, yet in 1835 half a dozen playhouses sufficed for its entertainment. The most frequented of these was the Park Theatre, opened in 1798, where the Syndicate Building stands now, at Nos. 13-21 Park Row. It had a street frontage of one hundred feet and ran back to Theatre Alley, which still exists, an interesting if shabby reminder of the once famous playhouse. The Park, burned and restored in 1820, was burned a second time in December, 1848, and was never rebuilt; but many a white-haired man cherishes vivid recollections of its history, which was that of the New York stage for half a century. Its walls were of brick; its stuccoed front and wooden steps were painted gray and lined with black, to imitate blocks of granite, and in a niche of the front wall stood a bust of Shakespeare. The pit was furnished with wooden benches, and the first tier divided into a series of screened lock-boxes. Men about town, bachelors, and clerks occupied the pit, families and women the tier of boxes. A separate stairway led to the third tier and the

gallery. The third tier was an assemblage-place for the dissolute of both sexes, while the gallery was given up to apprentice-boys, servants, sailors, and negroes, the last named occupying a place apart. Drinking-bars, in connection with apple-, pie-, and peanut-stands, were adjacent to the pit, gallery, and third tier. Peanuts were munched in the pit; apples and oranges, during recess, in the boxes; and it was not uncommon, as Mrs. Trollope has recorded, to see male occupants of the first tier in shirt sleeves. The usual prices of admission were one dollar for the boxes, fifty cents for the pit, and twenty-five cents for the gallery; and patrons demanded and received full value for their money in a performance that, beginning at seven o'clock and lasting until midnight, often included a five-act drama, an olio, and a comedy. And there was, as a rule, a nightly change in the bill.

The greatest name associated with the early history of the Park is that of Thomas Abthorpe Cooper, the English tragedian, who long directed its fortunes. This splendid actor was the hero of a career thoroughly typical of his time. He was identified with the American stage from 1800 to 1835, and during that period

won triumphs in every department of the drama. He played in all one hundred and seventy-six leading parts, ranging from King Lear to Falstaff; and it is further recorded of him that he visited every State in the Union, appeared in sixty-four theatres, and travelled twenty thousand miles, mostly in his own carriage. The opening decades of the eighteenth century constituted an exceptional period in the history of the English stage, and one after another many of its most brilliant lights found their way to America and were seen at the Park. George Frederick Cooke, who now sleeps in St. Paul's church-yard just across the way, appeared there in 1810, and the same year brought Mary Duff, without an equal among the tragic actresses of her generation. Edmund Kean, whose fiery genius was to be extinguished before its time, came in 1820. The American career of the elder Wallack began in 1818; that of the elder Booth, who played a round score of tragic rôles as none of his compeers could play them, in 1821; and in 1826 the sun of Edwin Forrest, the most splendid animal force that the American stage has ever seen, rose full-orbed into the heavens.

Nor were the triumphs of the Park confined



to the drama, for the first Italian opera ever heard in the Western world, Rossini's "The Barber of Seville," was produced on its stage in November, 1825, with Manuel Garcia, who had hardly a rival among tenors, as Almariva, and the latter's daughter, Maria Garcia, as Rosina. This gifted and gracious woman, an admirable actress as well as one of the greatest contraltos of modern times, endowed with a voice of extraordinary sweetness and compass, was then in the first flush of her powers. She quickly became the idol of the New York public, and the well-attended performances of the Garcia company went on twice a week for nearly a year. Then the father set off for Mexico, while a little later the daughter, whose marriage to François Malibran, a French merchant of New York, had given her the name by which she will always be known, left for Paris. Thereafter her career, destined to end so sadly at the early age of twenty-nine, formed a glorious part of the history of music in Europe, the brilliant and beautiful Sontag being her only serious rival. America knew her no more; but there is cause for pride in the thought that here she received the first full recognition of her genius, and that here began the joys and

sorrows as a woman, which give her an endearing place among the queens of song.

When Cooper retired from the stage in 1825 he was succeeded in the management of the Park by Stephen Price, a lawyer of means, who for a season or two also conducted Drury Lane Theatre, London. Price had influence and standing among people of distinction and fashion, but he was without experience in stage details. He, therefore, chose for his stage manager and general assistant Edmund Simpson, an English actor, who, after Price's death in 1840, assumed the sole management, continuing it for eight years. When Simpson retired, in 1848, the house was leased to Thomas S. Hamblin, by whom it was continued for a few months, and then finally burned to the ground. Conspicuous members of the Park Theatre company in its later days were Charlotte Cushman, John and Clara Fisher, William and Emma Wheatley, Henry and Thomas Placide, Peter Richings, and William Chippendale. Charlotte Cushman and Henry Placide were the most gifted and are the best remembered of this brilliant company. The former was still in her girlhood when she appeared at the Park, but she made her way from the first, and before she

was thirty won the commanding place as an actress of tragic *rôles* which she held until her death. Placide was counted by many the most accomplished general actor of his time, his ability ranging easily from the pathetic drama to eccentric comedy, from Grandfather Whitehead to the fat school-boy trundling hoops. He retired after the burning of the Park to a country-place on Long Island, whence he emerged now and then to play for a few nights at various newer theatres, being last seen on the stage in 1865, at the age of sixty-six.

Two popular resorts of the multitude in the middle thirties were the American Museum of John Scudder, built in 1824 on the site at the corner of Broadway and Ann Street where now stands the St. Paul Building, and the museum of Reuben Peale, situated on Broadway opposite the Common. Each of these museums had its display of wax figures of famous or notorious men and women, and of birds, beasts, and reptiles, and also its lecture-room, where at stated hours "an enthusiastic professor of something solemnly held forth on a subject about which he knew little, but well aware of the fact that his audience knew less." The museum lecture-room had, however, its more attractive

side in the shape of a miniature stage, whereon "Yankee" Hill, "Jim Crow" Rice, and many another half-forgotten favorite delighted old and young with their oddities and witticisms. When in 1842 Phineas T. Barnum became proprietor of the American Museum, at the same time absorbing Peale's collection, he enlarged the stage of the lecture-room and devoted it to what he called a "moral show." This was another name for the drama, invented by the shrewd showman to quiet the scruples of those who had been educated in the belief that the theatre was a place to shun and avoid; and so well did it serve his purpose that for a score of years the "moral show" held first place in the favor of a large portion of the populace. Emily Mestayer, then the most beautiful woman on the American stage, was long the shining light of the Barnum company, which was also the training-school of George Clarke, Milnes Levick, and other players destined to achieve distinction.

The City Hall aside, the most imposing buildings in the New York of the later thirties were the Merchants' Exchange, in Wall Street; the Halls of Justice, better known as the Tombs, built upon the site of the Collect or Fresh Water Pond; Washington and Masonic Halls and the

Tabernacle, in Broadway; and Holt's Hotel, at the corner of Fulton and Water Streets. The Merchants' Exchange, a marble structure completed in 1827, besides serving the purpose implied by its name, also housed the city post-office until its destruction in the great fire of 1835. The Tombs, a fine specimen of Egyptian architecture, dwarfed by an unfortunate location, was built in 1838, partly of granite brought from Maine and partly of the stone of the old bridewell on the Common, demolished about that time. When this historic building, which remained until the present year (1902) one of the landmarks of the town, was first opened for the reception of prisoners, the city's penal institutions were few in number. A house of refuge for boys and girls had, however, been established in 1825 in the present Madison Square, while in 1816 a prison for minor offenders had been built on the shore of the East River at the foot of Twenty-sixth Street, which secluded spot also furnished a site for the city almshouse, transferred at the same time from the Common. Ten years later a public hospital was built near by, and the three buildings, enclosed by a stone wall, were known henceforth as the Bellevue Establishment.



WASHINGTON HALL, BROADWAY, CORNER OF READE STREET, IN 1853—LONG THE HEAD-QUARTERS  
OF THE FEDERALISTS



Washington Hall was built in 1812 on the corner of Chambers Street and Broadway, John McComb being its architect, and for many years was the local head-quarters of the Federalists. During another part of its history it was used as a hotel, serving that purpose until 1848, when it was demolished to furnish a site for the marble store of Alexander T. Stewart. The erection of Masonic Hall at what is now Nos. 314-316 Broadway was one of the enterprises of 1826. A costly Gothic structure, its first floor was given up to a single spacious apartment, intended for public meetings, concerts, and balls, while its third story was arranged for the meetings of the fraternity from which it borrowed its name. But following the blow given to Masonry by the disappearance of William Morgan, its name was changed to Gothic Hall, and after a checkered existence of thirty years it, too, gave way to stores.

The history of the Tabernacle, a huge unsightly pile which stood for many years at No. 340 Broadway, was bound up with that of the anti-slavery movement, to whose leaders, by reason of its size, it furnished an acceptable meeting-place. Garrison, Phillips, and Tappan often spoke within its walls, and awoke the



echoes with their fiery oratory. Owing also to its accessibility and acoustic qualities, the Tabernacle, which when built in 1836 had been designed for a free Congregational church, was often hired for concerts and musical entertainments, and there Bull, Vieuxtemps, De Begnis, and many another charmed the New York public with their art.

Holt's Hotel, called after its builder and first owner, Stephen Holt, was opened in 1833, and the scale of magnificence on which it was planned made it easily the place of its day, nothing like it in the hotel line having been constructed previously in New York. The approach of incoming vessels was flagged from Sandy Hook to Staten Island, from Staten Island to Governor's Island, and thence to the cupola of Holt's Hotel, which towered high above the surrounding buildings. This advantage in getting shipping news made the hotel a head-quarters for naval officers and the resting-place of the London and Liverpool packet captains when in port. Its glory, however, came soon to an end, ruin overtaking its proprietor through the failure of a characteristic stroke of enterprise. Holt undertook, in the absence of municipal water-works, to drill

a well under his hotel, and went down several hundred feet without finding water. The expense incurred helped to throw him into bankruptcy, and his property, passing into other hands, was renamed the United States Hotel. A little later Fulton Street was left behind in the upward growth of the town, and when early in the present year word went forth that Holt's Folly was to make way for an office building, many New Yorkers learned for the first time that such a hotel existed in the city.

Better success attended the building of New York's next hostelry of consequence. It was in 1830 that John Jacob Astor put into execution a resolve he had long cherished to rear at the junction of the two most crowded thoroughfares of the city a hotel which should bear his name. Keeping his own counsel, he gradually acquired possession of all the houses save one on the block designed for a site. John G. Coster, the wealthy owner of this, did not wish to sell it, nor was there prospect of his ever falling into financial difficulties that would force him to part with it at the buyer's price. So Astor one day said to him, "Coster, I want to build a hotel on this block, and have bought all the houses except yours. It is of no particular

use to you, and you can buy another lot and build a palace with the money I will pay you. Now, you name two friends and I will name one to value your property. When they have done so, add twenty thousand dollars to the sum upon which they agree, and I will give you a check for the total amount in exchange for a deed." This liberal offer was at once accepted, and a site thus secured for the Astor House, which, opened in 1836, has stood for more than sixty years the most famous tavern in America.

The period under review also witnessed the birth of the penny press. The principal daily journals published in New York at the opening of 1833 were the *Commercial Advertiser*, founded in 1793 and edited by Colonel William L. Stone; the *Evening Post*, founded in 1801 by William Coleman and then under the direction of William Cullen Bryant; the *Courier and Inquirer*, conducted by Colonel James Watson Webb, and the *Journal of Commerce*, controlled by David Hale and Gerard Hallock. All of these were six-penny sheets, distributed only to regular subscribers, and of limited circulation; but on September 3, 1833, an ambitious job printer, Benjamin H. Day by name, established, at No. 222 William Street, a three-column paper

of four pages, which he called the *Sun*, and which sold for one cent a copy. Day wrote and edited the first number himself, and for a time acted as his own editor, publisher, reporter, compositor, pressman, and delivery clerk. Still, the *Sun* found readers from the first, and at the end of the second year could boast a circulation of ten thousand copies. Its founder at the same time worked a revolution in journalism. He made the *Sun* a good local newspaper, something no other editor in New York was doing at that time, and thus sounded the knell of the ponderous journals that sorely taxed their readers and gave them little in return. More than that, he hired boys and sent them out to sell the *Sun* to anybody that wanted to buy it. Thus he invented the newsboy; and it is not too much to say that the present system of delivery to the public, from the urchin who sells ten copies to the great news company that handles fifty thousand, is the logical development of Day's idea of reaching the public. Its founder in 1838 sold the *Sun* to Moses Y. Beach, but one cent continued to be its price for thirty years.

The *Sun* soon had rivals in the field which it had created, but most of them had brief existence, and only one has survived to the present

time. James Gordon Bennett was a Scotchman who had come to America in 1819, at the age of twenty-two, and for a dozen years had been a working journalist in New York. On May 6, 1835, having joined hands with Smith & Anderson, a printing firm in Ann Street, he issued the first number of the *Herald*, a small penny sheet. His desk was a board on two barrels, and on that he wrote untiringly, for the first few weeks doing all the editorial work himself. Bennett possessed, however, an instinct for news amounting to genius, and, though Smith & Anderson early withdrew from the venture, the success of the *Herald* did not long remain in doubt. Its treatment of local news was vivid and picturesque and its discussion of public men and measures fearless and independent. Thus it never failed to interest a growing army of readers. Soon its founder was able to employ capable assistants, and in 1836 he doubled the price of the paper, with no loss of patrons. Thereafter the career of journal and owner was a steadily prosperous one, and before the close of the *Herald's* first decade Bennett had redeemed his early promise to make it "the greatest, the best, and the most profitable paper that ever appeared in this country."

## THE TOWN IN THE THIRTIES

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William Cullen Bryant has been mentioned as the editor of the *Evening Post*. It was in 1825 that the poet left his native Berkshire to become a writer for the New York press. His service on the staff of the *Evening Post*, which led eventually to a controlling ownership, began in the following year, and he remained until his death in 1878 a distinguished figure in the higher life of the city. Bryant's New York career is recalled at a dozen turns of a chance stroll through the older town. A warehouse covers the site of the house at No. 92 Hudson Street which was his abode when he succeeded to the editorship of the *Evening Post*; but in Varick Street, just below Canal, still stands the ancient red-brick dwelling to which he removed from Hudson Street, and in a near-by thoroughfare one comes upon yet another time-worn structure, for some years the poet's "home in Carmine Street" to which he makes frequent reference in his letters. Adjoining the college of St. Francis Xavier, in Sixteenth Street, is to be found the brownstone house which was Bryant's last city home. Here for many years were welcomed men illustrious in letters and in art, and in a roomy library on the second floor the poet performed much of the literary

work of his later days, at the age of eighty-four producing his last bit of verse,—some stanzas on the birthday of Washington,—the manuscript of which lay upon his table when he was assisted up-stairs after the fall which later resulted in his death.

The leading society journal of the period under review was the *New York Mirror*, founded by George P. Morris, who long had Nathaniel P. Willis for a partner and co-laborer and Edgar Allan Poe for a contributor. The last named dwelt with his ailing wife on the upper floor of a small brick house at No. 195 East Broadway, now replaced by the building of the Educational Alliance, and several other places in the lower part of the town have association with this gifted, ill-starred author. Temple Court, in Beekman Street, covers the site of an office of his short-lived *Broadway Journal*; at the corner of Ann and Nassau he was employed upon the *Evening Mirror*, and in Greenwich Street, near to Rector, there stands, in the shadow of the elevated railway, a shabby structure that was his abode when he wrote "The Balloon Hoax" and the curious poem of "Dreamland." Going farther afield, one finds on the west side of Carmine Street,

above Varick, the site of the modest frame house in which Poe lived when he gave the finishing touches to the "Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym," and had Gowans, the bookseller, for a fellow-lodger; later with Gowans he had brief occupancy of one of the floors, now darkened by passing trains, of a building in Sixth Avenue near Waverly Place, and in this forbidding abode produced "Ligeia" and "The Fall of the House of Usher," while in an old-fashioned frame dwelling, lately gone from West Eighty-fourth Street, the poet and his family boarded when he wrote "The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar," and, if tradition is to be relied upon, his most famous poem, "The Raven." Following the death of his wife, Poe took lodgings in one of the streets opening into Washington Square, where Lowell called and found him "not himself that day," and where "at his desk beneath the picture of his loved and lost Lenore" he wrote, among other things, "The Imp of the Perverse" and "The Philosophy of Composition." Thence, at the end of a few months, he set out on his fatal trip to Baltimore. Another fortnight, and silence had fallen upon the strangest genius of his time.

The condition of Columbia College when it



celebrated the completion of its first half-century was one of increasing vigor and usefulness, most of its chairs being filled by men of unusual capacity, while other efforts were making in behalf of higher education. One of these was the founding of the University of New York, housed after 1837 in a spacious building on Washington Square, and the second was the Union Theological Seminary, established in 1836 in University Place, and open to every denomination of Christians. The same period witnessed the growth and development of yet another of the city's most useful institutions, the Mercantile Library. This library had its origin, in the winter of 1821, in a reading-room which some of the merchants founded for their clerks. Two years later the association thus created was duly incorporated, and in 1830 its growing collection of books was housed in a building of its own, which stood at the corner of Beekman and Nassau Streets and bore the name of Clinton 'Hall, this in honor of De Witt Clinton, who had presented the first book to the library. A score of years later the upward growth of the town compelled it to seek new quarters, and in 1854 it established itself on the site of its present home

in Astor Place. The Mercantile, as to the number of volumes upon its shelves, now holds second place among the libraries of the city.

The most picturesque element of New York life in the thirties was furnished by the volunteer firemen. These numbered upward of two thousand, divided into twoscore companies, each of which had its engine and engine-house supplied by the corporation. "It was the pride and ambition of every fireman," Sheldon quotes a veteran as saying, "that his company should be the first to reach a fire and the most efficient in putting it out. The city was not then divided into districts, and an alarm called out all the companies. No matter what the task on hand, we would leave it and rush for the engine. Often I was out with my engine four nights in the week. What was the inducement? Love of excitement and of excelling the rival companies. There was no other compensation. Instead, if we had a parade we met the expenses ourselves, and we always paid for the painting, repairing, and decorating of our engines. But we had our reward in the excitement of the running, in the victory over rivals, and in the daring feats in and about burning buildings. The symbol of the department was the figure of

a fireman holding in his arms a child whom he had rescued from the flames. It was an emblem not less true than beautiful. Once at a fire in Broadway, after the roof had fallen in and killed thirteen men, a fireman named Mount heard a woman shouting from the fourth story, 'Save me! Save me!' A ladder being brought, Mount climbed to the rescue, helped the woman out of the window and down the ladder, and fainted when he saw her safe."

There was another side to the picture. The desire to be first at a fire led to fights between rival companies, and these, becoming more frequent as time went on, led in 1865 to the replacing of the volunteer department with a paid force. Yet the volunteer fireman was an heroic and hilarious figure in the New York of seventy years ago, and his deeds furnish material for a stirring chapter of American folk-lore.

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## XVII

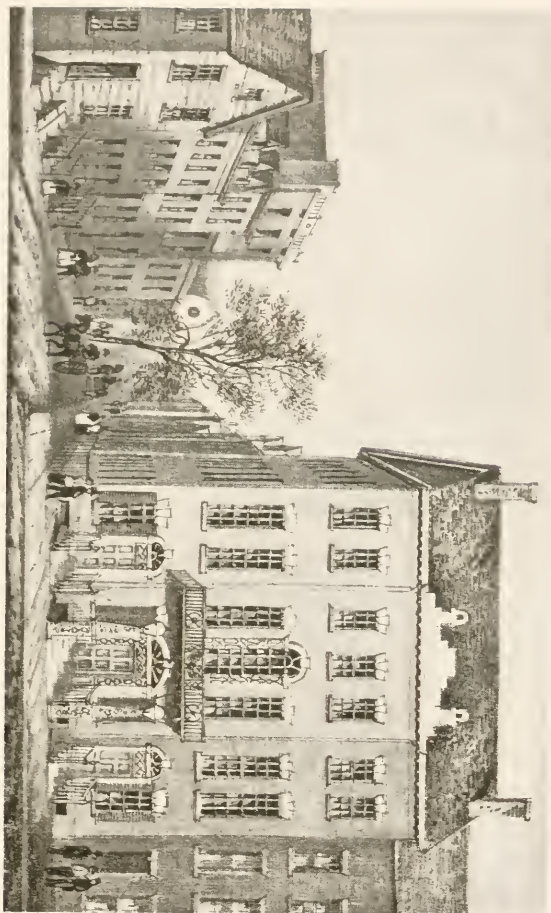
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### *A Period of Growth*

NEW YORK'S political history during its first half-century as a free city was a varied and turbulent one, but with a steady trend towards making the government democratic in all its branches. The mayor until 1834 was chosen either by the State council of appointment or by the common council of the city, which method of selection brought to the office such men as Edward Livingston, De Witt Clinton, and Philip Hone. After 1834, however, the mayor was elected by the citizens, to whom in the mean time had been granted an unrestricted suffrage. A dozen years later the judiciary was also made elective, and thenceforth most local officers were chosen in the same manner. During this period the Democratic party was the one most often in power. The Federalists, or their successors the Whigs, now and then gained the upper hand; but in the long run the Democrats, under the leadership of Tammany Hall, a secret association whose social and benevolent aims had been early

put aside for political ones, always recovered their hold on the reins. Business men, then as now, shrank from political activity, while the men who directed Tammany Hall also knew how to drill and control the mass of poor and ignorant voters, mainly of foreign birth, who after 1840 constituted a majority of those exercising the franchise. Cornelius W. Lawrence, the first mayor chosen by popular suffrage, was a Democrat, and so were most of his successors prior to the Civil War.

The margin which assured the continuance in or return to power of Tammany Hall and its allies, nevertheless, was often a narrow one, and victories were gained only by acts of intimidation and violence at the polls. Thus the closely contested mayoralty election of 1834, in which Lawrence was opposed by Gulian C. Verplanck, was marked by a series of brawls and riots. The election occupied three successive days. Before noon of the first day a small riot had broken out at the Five Points poll, in which several Whigs were maltreated by Lawrence roughs, and there was intermittent fighting in other parts of the city until nightfall. The second day saw only a few local rows; but on the third, while a Whig procession was passing through Broadway, a



TAMMANY HALL IN 1830—PRESENT SITE OF THE NEW YORK SUN BUILDING



## A PERIOD OF GROWTH

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crowd of Lawrence adherents swarmed up Duane and Reade Streets and drove the paraders into their head-quarters in Masonic Hall. Soon the mayor appeared with the sheriff and forty of the watch, only to be surrounded and stoned by the mob. Then the militia came to the rescue of the peace officers, and finally succeeded in dispersing their assailants.

Most of the rioters were of foreign birth, but there were also many native roughs among them, and this element played a leading part in another riotous outbreak in the summer of the same year. Slavery had been abolished within the State in 1827; but many of the business men of the city, by reason of their participation in the cotton trade, favored its maintenance at the South, and the mass of the city populace shared the pro-slavery sentiments of the merchants and traders. Anti-slavery meetings were often broken up, and in the course of three evenings of July, 1834, a mob attacked the house in Rose Street occupied by Lewis Tappan, a leading abolitionist, and sacked that of his brother, later dismantling the Laight Street Presbyterian Church, of which the rector was Samuel H. Cox, and the Spring Street Presbyterian Church, of which the pastor was Henry



G. Ludlow, both of whom had preached against slavery. While the rioters were busy with these churches they were attacked and scattered by the militia. The next day the volunteer firemen offered their assistance in restoring order, and the disturbance came to an end.

After the "year of the riots," as it was subsequently known, followed the "year of the great fire,"—so called from the fire of December, 1835, which began near the foot of Maiden Lane, burned six hundred buildings, and caused a money loss of upward of twenty million dollars. Worse still, this heavy and unexpected blow, following close upon a period of speculation and swollen values, hastened the financial panic of 1836-37, whose blighting effects reached from New York to every part of the land. All of the city insurance companies suspended payment on the morrow of the fire, and business men, with their other assets in ashes, could not pay their debts. Before the end of April, 1837, two hundred and sixty houses closed their doors, with liabilities exceeding a hundred millions. The story of general insolvency was repeated in every town and city of the Union, and for a time even the federal government was unable to meet its obligations. A coincident advance in the price

of fuel and breadstuffs caused coal to rise to ten dollars a ton and flour to twelve dollars a barrel, and this, with loss of employment, brought want and misery to the poor. A meeting was called in City Hall Park in the afternoon of February 10, 1837, by means of handbills bearing the words, "Bread, Meat, Rent, Fuel,—the voice of the people shall be heard." The rough-and-ready speakers at this meeting raised the cry of the poor against the rich, and were fierce in their denunciation of the flour and grain merchants, who, rumor had it, were holding provisions for still higher prices. "Citizens," said one speaker, "there is a man in Washington Street, near Dey, who has nearly sixty thousand barrels of flour stored in his warehouse awaiting higher prices. Let us visit him and offer him the old price. If he refuses we will know what to do!"

In another instant a mob was surging down Broadway in the direction of the warehouse of Eli Hart, and the rioters, forcing an entrance into the building, had emptied five hundred barrels of flour into the street when the militia appeared upon the scene. Then they retreated, but only to visit the flour warehouse of Herrick & Co., in Coenties Slip. There they were checked by a quick-witted clerk, who said,

" Boys, don't destroy the flour. Let every one who can shoulder a barrel take it home to his wife and family with our compliments." This announcement, greeted with cheers, worked a quick change in the temper of the crowd, and soon no work remained for the military who had hastened thither. Soon, too, the unhappy conditions which had led to the outbreak became a part of history. Although all of the city's twenty-three banks suspended in May, 1837, there was a speedy recovery of confidence, and at the end of a year a general resumption of specie payment, New York's example being followed without delay in other parts of the country. Credit for the prompt restoration of normal conditions was chiefly due to the skill and influence of Albert Gallatin, who in 1832 had been made president of the newly organized National Bank of New York. Gallatin, whose services as Secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson and Madison had given him rank as the greatest financier after Hamilton this country has produced, became a resident of New York in 1829, and he remained until his death, twenty years later, a leader in its business and social life.

An indirect result of the great fire of 1835 was the assurance to the city of an adequate water

supply. There had been severe epidemics of yellow fever in 1795 and 1798, and again in 1822 and 1823, during which thousands sickened and died. Worse still, the Asiatic cholera appeared in the city in July, 1832, and before the end of August claimed nearly three thousand victims. These several scourges were mainly due to unwholesome and insufficient water, and when the fire of 1835 again brought this defect home to the citizens, it was determined by popular vote to find a permanent and sufficing remedy. Accordingly a dam was built across the Croton River, far up in Westchester County, and a basin created capable of holding five hundred millions of gallons. An aqueduct carried the supply thus secured to the Harlem River, and thence across High Bridge, built for the purpose, to reservoirs on Manhattan Island. The receiving reservoir was located near the northern end of the present Central Park, and covered an area of thirty-five acres, to which large additions have been made in later years. The distributing reservoir was built on Murray Hill, whence the water was carried through iron pipes to every part of the city below it. But with the introduction of other and more efficient methods of distribution the Murray Hill reservoir, once visible for miles of open

country around, ceased years ago to serve its original purpose, and has been lately demolished to furnish a site for the New York Public Library. Gas had been introduced into the city in 1825, and with the practical completion of the Croton water-works in 1842, an event attended with noisy rejoicing, and the coincident development of a street railway system, New York crossed for good and all the line which separates the city from the overgrown town.

The fire of 1835 wrought in another way for the improvement of the city. Wherever a wooden structure had stood in its way, was now erected one of brick or stone; and when in the summer of 1845 a second fire laid waste the district between Stone and New Streets and Broad Street and Broadway, this story of new and costlier buildings was repeated on a more imposing scale. The Merchant's Exchange in Wall Street, used after 1862 as a custom-house, was rebuilt of marble, and so were many other structures in that thoroughfare, while the same material went to the construction of the Fifth Avenue Hotel, begun in 1856 at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Twenty-third Street. Buildings devoted to other than business purposes were the while increas-

ing in size and costliness as rapidly as in numbers. Trinity Church, a notable specimen of Gothic architecture, and the third edifice upon the same site in Broadway, was finished in 1846; the Astor Library, in Lafayette Place, was opened in 1854; the Academy of Music, at the corner of Irving Place and Fourteenth Street, furnished in the same year a more spacious home for the opera; and in 1858 the corner-stone of St. Patrick's Cathedral, the most stately house of worship thus far reared in America, was laid at Fifth Avenue and Fiftieth Street.

Another famous but vanished structure of the same period was the Crystal Palace, erected in what is now Bryant Park to house "a world's fair for the exhibition of the industry of all nations." It was built of glass and iron, in the shape of a Greek cross, and covered an area of several acres. The exhibition within its walls, thrown open in May, 1853, brought a throng of sight-seers from every part of the Union; and it is good to know that the collection of paintings and statuary claimed as large a share of their interest and attention as did any other part of the great fair. "We grow sculptors as naturally as we grow Indian corn, and it is no wonder that a taste for their works should

be indigenous," wrote one jubilant editor. "What refining influences have already gone out from the creations of the chisel here exhibited can only be guessed. The picture-gallery, so full of wonder and delight, has also revealed a sixth sense to many a fascinated eye and heart. Indeed, we could hardly be persuaded that every day in the Crystal Palace does not see the dawn of thought that will yet shine out over the land in modes of beauty and benefit." And this world's fair of 1853 did in truth furnish impressive proof of the progress of America and of her chief city in art, science, and industry. It came to an end in the autumn, and in May, 1854, a permanent exhibition was opened in the same place. But the House of Glass, with its towering dome and broad galleries, did not long serve the purpose to which it had been rededicated. It caught fire on an October night in 1858, and in half an hour was a mass of ruins.

The public spirit which had prompted the building of Crystal Palace also led, although not without bitter opposition, to the purchase in 1856, at a cost of upward of five million dollars, of the site of Central Park. A sum twice as large was expended in the improvement of the eight hundred and forty-three acres now included

within the park, the largest amount ever devoted to a like purpose,—and never was money put to more judicious and beneficent use. The creation of Central Park, moreover, set an example speedily followed by other cities, and thus gave birth to a movement national in its scope and influence. Nor did New York rest content with its first effort in a new field. Before 1860 there were also reserved as pleasure places for the people the park at the Battery, Washington, Union, Madison, and Tompkins Squares, and many others, while the space devoted to parks within the limits of the greater city is now measured by more than ten thousand acres.

The tide of immigration, to which reference has been made in an earlier chapter, continued to rise during the middle years of the century, and what with the increase by birth, New York, at the close of the decade in which fell the creation of Central Park, had over eight hundred thousand inhabitants. The line of city blocks had now reached and passed Thirty-fourth Street; Madison Square, but yesterday an unsightly waste, had become the centre of amusement and fashion, and Fifth Avenue had been transformed from a country road into a paved thoroughfare flanked for miles with brownstone houses. The



growth of wealth kept pace with the growth of population; yet it is not an attractive picture that Roosevelt has drawn for us of fashionable New York society as it was in the years immediately preceding the Civil War. The city, he writes, "possessed a large wealthy class whose members did not quite know how to get most pleasure from their money. With singular poverty of imagination they proceeded on the assumption that to enjoy their wealth they must slavishly imitate the superficial features, and the defects rather than the merits, of the life of the wealthy classes of Europe, instead of borrowing only its best traits, and adapting even these to their own surroundings. They put wealth above everything else, and therefore hopelessly vulgarized their lives. The shoddy splendors of the second French Empire naturally appealed to them, and so far as might be they imitated its ways. Dress, manners, amusements, all were copied from Paris; and when they went to Europe, it was in Paris that they spent most of their time. Fashionable society was composed of two classes. There were, first, the people of good family,—those whose forefathers at some time had played their parts manfully in the world, and who claimed some shadowy superi-

ority on the strength of this memory of the past, unbacked by any proof of merit in the present. Secondly, there were those who had just made money,—the father having usually merely the money-getting faculty, the rest of the family possessing only the absorbing desire to spend what the father had earned. In summer they all went to Saratoga or to Europe; in winter they came back to New York. Their brown-stone-front houses were all alike outside, and all furnished in the same manner within,—heavy furniture, gilding, mirrors, glittering chandeliers. If a man was very rich he had a few feet more frontage, and more gilding, more mirrors, and more chandeliers. There was one incessant round of gayety, but it possessed no variety whatever and little interest.”

A sombre analysis, from which one gladly turns to a study of the forces which then as now lay behind the real greatness of the town. The packet gave way after 1840 to the clipper in which the American genius for the building of wooden ships reached its most perfect expression. The first vessels of the new type were built in Baltimore; but New York soon became the centre of their construction. They were designed at the outset for speed rather than for

carrying capacity,—long and narrow, with sharp bow and tapering stern. These pioneer vessels, however, were found to be too small for safety and profit,—all of them were of less than a thousand tons burden,—and, though their swift passages made them popular alike with merchants and travellers, they were succeeded at the end of a decade by ships of from twelve hundred to two thousand tons, which successfully solved the problem of combined speed, strength, and capacity. Among the noted clippers of the latter class were the “ Surprise,” the “ Challenge,” the “ Flying Cloud,” the “ Invincible,” the “ Comet,” the “ Sword-Fish,” the “ Houqua,” the “ Sovereign of the Seas,” and the “ Dreadnought,” each of which attained a speed that was phenomenal. The “ Flying Cloud” made the journey from New York to San Francisco in eighty-four days, and the “ Comet,” on a return voyage, covered the distance between the two ports in seventy-six days. The “ Sword-Fish” sailed from Shanghai to San Francisco in thirty-one days, and the “ Houqua” from the former port to New York in eighty-eight days. The “ Sovereign of the Seas” reached Liverpool less than fourteen days after her departure from New York, and the “ Dreadnought” went from Sandy Hook to

Queenstown in nine days and seventeen hours. The clippers were not less remarkable for an earning capacity that brought multiplying wealth to their owners and captains. Their speed always assured a ready premium on their freight, their shorter passages enabling shippers to save interest and secure an early market; and a round trip to San Francisco, during the first days of gold hunting, often netted a moderate fortune. The " Surprise," to quote an individual instance, in a maiden voyage to San Francisco, Canton, and London, and thence to her home port, paid her cost and running expenses, and an added profit to her owners of fifty thousand dollars.

The builder of many of the largest and fastest clipper ships was William H. Webb, son of the Isaac Webb mentioned in an earlier chapter. This exceptional man entered his father's shipyard at the age of fifteen, and nine years later was building ships on his own account. During the following quarter-century he built more vessels than any other man of his time. It is related of him that " for many years he was the first to enter his yard in the morning and the last to leave it at night," and that " he marked the place for every stick of lumber in every vessel, and made every drawing, model, and speci-

fication with his own hand." He retired from business in 1869 with more than seven-score wooden and iron-clad vessels to his credit, and the master of a fortune which enabled him to found the home and academy for ship-builders, an institution unique in character and purpose, which bears his name and through the long future will perpetuate the memory of a man whose wisdom and foresight kept pace with his generosity and public spirit.

Despite their speed, their beauty, and their triumphs, the stirring era of the clipper ships, whose construction brought Webb the greater part of his wealth, came soon to an end. Before the launching of the first of them the ocean steamship had already begun its career, and it was not long before its mastery of adverse winds and waves proved it the better and more reliable servant, and one to be preferred to the fastest sailing-ship. The first steamship designed for ocean navigation was the "Savannah," of three hundred tons burden, which was built in New York, and in May, 1819, made her first trip across the ocean in twenty-two days. It was nearly twenty years, however, before the new method came into general use. The "Great Western," the first English steamship built as

such, sailed from Bristol in April, 1838, but reached New York three days after the "Sirius," from Liverpool, a sailing-vessel fitted up as a steamer. When, following these pioneers, the steamships "British Queen," "Royal William," "Liverpool," and "President" had also successfully crossed the Atlantic, Edward K. Collins said to a friend, "There is no longer chance for enterprise with sails,—it is steam that must win the day. I will build steamers that shall make the passage from New York to Europe in ten days or less." This promise, after ten years of labor and effort, was redeemed in the famous Collins Line of steamships made up of the "Arctic," "Baltic," "Atlantic," and "Pacific." English capital, meantime, had established the Cunard Line between Liverpool and New York, and there at once ensued a fierce competition between the rival companies. The Cunarders usually scored the swiftest passage to Liverpool, while in the passage from that port to New York the time of the Collins steamships was nearly always less than that of their English rivals. Misfortune, however, soon befell the American line. Two of its steamers were lost at sea, and the subsequent withdrawal of the subsidy granted it by Congress compelled its discon-

tinuance in 1858. The Cunard company survived and still holds first place among the fourteen lines which, growing with the always growing trade, now connect New York with Europe.

After the ocean steamship came the telegraph and the railway. Samuel F. B. Morse, born and reared in New England, was a young artist, only a few years past his majority, when, at the close of the second war with England, he took up his residence in New York. Here he quickly became a leader in all matters that made for the advancement of his profession, and was the founder and first president of the National Academy of Design. Like Fulton, Morse was also an enthusiast in science, and when on a return voyage from Europe, whither he had gone in pursuit of his art, a fellow-passenger called his attention to recent experiments conducted in Paris with the electro-magnet, and told him that the transmission of electricity through a wire from one point to another had been found to be practically instantaneous, the construction of the electric telegraph at once became the absorbing purpose of his life. This was in 1832, and at the end of five years of unceasing labor and study Morse had perfected his instrument and his alphabetical sys-

tem of dots and dashes, and had devised means of producing electricity and of conveying it from place to place. His labors, however, had left him with an empty purse, and he had still to conquer the incredulity that barred the way to the general use of his invention.

Again and again he appealed to Congress for an appropriation with which to establish an experimental line between Washington and Baltimore, and finally towards the close of the session of 1843 the House voted such an appropriation by a large majority. All that was now needed was the favorable action of the Senate, but on the last day of the session the telegraph bill was still far down on the docket of that body, and Morse left the Capitol late in the evening with little hope that it would be reached before the hour of adjournment. He returned to his hotel, counted his money, and found that after paying his expenses to New York he would have less than a dollar left. The next morning, as he was going to his breakfast, he was informed that a young woman was in the parlor waiting to see him. He found his caller to be Miss Annie Ellsworth, daughter of the commissioner of patents, who had been his most steadfast friend during his long fight in Washington.



"I come to congratulate you," was her greeting.

"For what, my dear?"

"On the passage of your bill. Didn't you know?"

"Oh, you must be mistaken," said Morse. "I stayed in the Senate until late last night, and came away because there wasn't any prospect of its passage."

"Am I the first to tell you?"

"You are, if it is really so."

"Well," she continued, "father remained till after adjournment and heard it passed. He told me only a few moments ago, and I asked him if I could not run over and tell you."

"Annie," said Morse, with a joyful tremor in his voice, "the first message sent from Washington to Baltimore shall be sent by you."

By May, 1844, the experimental line was laid, connecting Baltimore with Washington, and Miss Ellsworth was summoned to send the first message. It read, "What hath God wrought!" and the original is now preserved among the archives of the Connecticut Historical Society. Proof was forthwith furnished of the practical usefulness of the telegraph, and soon lines



RESIDENCE OF SAMUEL F. B. MORSE, NO. 5 WEST TWENTY-SECOND  
STREET



were building in a dozen States. Washington, Philadelphia, and New York were connected in 1846, and another twelvemonth saw lines extended from New York to Boston, Albany, and Buffalo. Half a hundred companies were doing business at the end of a decade, and then, after another period of rivalry and confusion, came their consolidation into the Western Union, with head-quarters in New York and lines reaching out to every part of the land. The development of the telegraph brought wealth and fame to its inventor. His last days were passed in honored and delightful retirement in New York, and when he died, in May, 1872, the people of four continents, by means of the instrument he had perfected, bore sorrowing and grateful witness to his worth and work. Morse's last city home was the brownstone house at No. 5 West Twenty-second Street, and a marble tablet set in its front records the fact that there he "lived for many years, and died."

The railway service which has long made New York the seaboard terminus of all East and West lines may be said to have had its beginning in 1851 with the completion of the first trunk line to the Great Lakes. This was the Erie, begun in 1836, and extending from Piermont on the Hud-

son to Dunkirk on Lake Erie. Two years later the second trunk line connecting New York and the West, the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad, was established by the consolidation of a number of shorter lines. Several railroads had been built meanwhile in New Jersey, connecting New York with Philadelphia and other points. These in the process of time became one corporation, as the United Railroads of New Jersey, only to be in turn absorbed by the Pennsylvania Railroad, which after 1854 connected Philadelphia with Pittsburg, thereby not only perfecting New York's connection with the Middle and Southern States, but also sending an artery of traffic from the heart of commerce into the middle Western States. The building of these and other lines called, however, for the investment of great sums of money, from which quick returns were expected, and this bred a spirit of speculation which had issue in 1857 in a panic whose blighting influence spared no part of the nation. The banks of New York suspended payment from October until December, trade and industry came to a standstill, and there were five thousand failures, with liabilities exceeding three hundred millions. Confidence returned with the spring, and with it a resumption

of railway construction, which, though temporarily retarded by the Civil War, has ever since tended in growing measure to strengthen New York's hold upon the business of the interior of the country. To-day ten trunk lines terminate in New York, which is also the objective point of a major portion of the traffic of all the railroads running East and West. Thus, "whether a line ends nominally at Baltimore, or Philadelphia, or Boston, its actual end, to which most of the goods for export must be brought, and from which almost all foreign goods must be received, is New York."

The most masterful figure in the business life of the city during the years which witnessed the development of the steamship, the telegraph, and the railway was Cornelius Vanderbilt. A native of Staten Island, he was the son of poor parents, and began at an early age to make his own way in the world. Hard work from six years of age to sixteen furnished him with a capital of one hundred dollars, and with this he bought a boat to carry farm products to the New York market. Before he was twenty he removed to New York, and three years later was worth ten thousand dollars. Then, perceiving the possibilities of the steamboat, he became the captain of the first one

to run between New York and New Brunswick, owning a share in it as well. For twelve years Vanderbilt retained this position, his wife keeping an inn at the New Jersey terminus, and turning it to good account. His fortieth year found him master of a fortune estimated at half a million dollars. For thirty years longer he followed the water, organizing and owning steam lines on the Hudson and the Sound, and finding a larger profit in each new venture. Next he turned his attention to ocean navigation, and during the rush to the gold fields he established a passenger line to the Pacific by way of Nicaragua. Other of his steamships crossed the Atlantic, and at one time he had more than sixty vessels in commission. At seventy the wealth of the Commodore, as he was called, exceeded fifteen million dollars. But this was to be multiplied seven-fold during the thirteen years of life that remained to him. He was one of the first to foresee the subordination of steamboats to railroads, and to plans and combinations in the latter field he now directed his energies. His first important purchase was a controlling interest in the New York and Harlem Railroad. Then he bought a majority of the shares of the Hudson River Railroad, and consolidated the two lines.

Next he reached out and secured mastery of the New York Central, and by the purchase of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern completed a trunk line from New York to Chicago. Each of these transactions doubled his fortune, and when he died in 1877 he left a hundred and twenty millions to be divided among his heirs. A noteworthy record of achievement, yet the historian must set him down as other than a noble figure in his era. Money-getting was his master impulse, and he furnished during a career few proofs of public spirit. One of the few was the gift of a million dollars wherewith to establish Vanderbilt University in Tennessee.



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## XVIII

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### *The Civil War & After*

NEW YORK'S growth during the quarter century that preceded the Civil War was nowhere more clearly manifested than in the development of its daily press. James and Erastus Brooks established the *Express* in 1836, and on April 10, 1841, Horace Greeley issued, at No. 30 Ann Street, a four-page penny sheet which he called the *Tribune*. Greeley was then thirty years of age; he had learned the printer's trade in Vermont, and for ten years had lived in New York, occupied generally in directing the fortunes of some popular publication. He had already proved himself a powerful and persuasive writer, with a gift for keen satire and fine invective, and he made the *Tribune* an advocate first of Whig and later of Republican principles the like of which, for vigor and moral earnestness, had never been known in America. Fifteen thousand copies of it were being circulated at the end of three months. Its career thereafter was one of steadily increasing prosperity, and its editor,

whose breadth of vision widened with the years, remained until his death in 1872 the strongest individual force in journalism.

Greeley during the middle years of his association with the *Tribune* had an effective right hand in Charles A. Dana, afterwards editor of the *Sun*; but his chief lieutenant at the outset was Henry J. Raymond, then a young man of twenty-one, with a capacity for hard work and for straightforward narrative which soon made him a man of mark in his calling. Raymond left the *Tribune* at the end of two years to connect himself with the *Courier and Enquirer*, and in September, 1851, founded the *Times*, of which he remained the editor and directing spirit during the remainder of his life. Ten years after the founding of the *Times*, the *World* was established as a penny religious newspaper, but soon passed to the control of Manton Marble, who gave it the character it has retained under subsequent editors and owners. Many other morning newspapers have played since 1860 longer or shorter parts in New York journalism, but only one survives,—the *Journal*, founded in 1882 by Albert Pulitzer, and now owned by William R. Hearst.

The daily journals published in New York at

the outbreak of the Civil War were all avowedly partisan organs. An independent press still belonged to the future, and the lack of its restraining influence helped to make the local political history of the period an unpleasant one. Tammany Hall, as in earlier years, was most often the dominant influence, and its methods of winning elections and profiting by them developed conditions as picturesque and peculiar as ever existed in a Western mining-camp. The master spirit of this organization in the '50s was Fernando Wood, able, resolute, and unscrupulous, who held to the belief that success was the criterion in politics, and that anything was justifiable to win it. Wood's best known lieutenant was Isaiah Rynders, "a man," Edwards tells us, "of some political skill of the smaller kind, and the idol of the Empire Club, which he organized, and which was closely allied with Tammany. Most of the members of this club were rowdies who lived to fight, and run to fires, and train immigrants to political activity, and who commanded the approaches to the polls on election days. Frauds on a scale heretofore undreamed of were practised by the Empire in the Presidential campaign of 1844. Thousands of immigrants were rushed through the courts, and

naturalization papers issued to men who had been but a few months in the country. Indeed, it was the Empire Club which taught the political value of the newly come foreigner. Its members approached the immigrants at the piers on the arrival of every steamship or packet; conducted them into congenial districts; found them employment in the city works, or perhaps helped them to set up in business as keepers of grog-shops. The effect of these attentions was speedily apparent, and the person who, a few months before, had seemed the meekest of aliens, became the most enthusiastic of politicians."

Backed by followers of the Rynders type, Wood became mayor in 1854, and was re-elected at the end of two years. The Republicans, however, at that time controlled the legislature, and to curb Wood's power and influence that body framed and passed a new charter for the city, which, besides dividing responsibility among the different local officers, created a number of boards and commissions which were appointed not by the mayor, but by the governor. Thus the regular uniformed police force, which had existed since 1845 under the partial control of the mayor, was replaced by a new police system called the metropolitan, under the management

of commissioners chosen by the governor. Wood refused to submit to this arrangement, declaring it unconstitutional. Instead, he assembled some eight hundred "municipal" policemen in and about the City Hall, and prepared to resist by force the introduction of the new system.

The collision inevitable under such conditions came on June 16, 1857, when a commissioner appointed by the governor, having been forcibly ejected from the City Hall, obtained two warrants for the arrest of Mayor Wood and attempted with fifty "metropolitans" to execute them. There followed a pitched battle between the rival forces, in which a number were badly wounded, and which would have resulted in wholesale loss of life but for the intervention of the militia. It happened that just when the fighting was fiercest the Seventh Regiment was marching down Broadway on its way to take a steamboat for Boston, and seeing that the "metropolitans" were likely to be overpowered, the colonel turned his men into the park and dispersed their assailants. Then the mayor, alarmed at the turn affairs had taken, allowed the warrants to be served on him, and proposed an amnesty until the courts could pass upon the new law. This was agreed to, and the Court of

Appeals deciding in due time that it was constitutional, the metropolitan police took the place of the other force.

Wood meantime had quarrelled with his associates in Tammany Hall, and although again a candidate for mayor in 1858, failed of re-election. But, having learned how to turn defeat into victory, he forthwith brought Mozart Hall into existence as a rival organization, and with its help and that of the mob in the lower wards in 1860 succeeded in defeating Tammany Hall and once more putting himself at the head of the city government. The month of Wood's return to the mayoralty brought the secession of the Southern States. New York was the stronghold of the Democratic party in the North, and there was in the city Democracy a numerous and noisy element which avowed sympathy and threatened to make common cause with the South. This element found a congenial mouth-piece in Mayor Wood, who in January, 1861, in a message to the common council, declared disunion to be a "fixed fact," and proposed that New York should also secede from the Union and become a free city, patterned after Hamburg and the Hanseatic towns of Germany. This independent commonwealth was to consist of Manhattan,

Long, and Staten Islands, and was to be called Tri-Insula. The common council received Wood's message with enthusiasm, and had it printed and circulated wholesale.

The heart of the people, however, beat with passionate loyalty for the Union, and the morrow of the fall of Sumter made this fact clear to the nation. When, on the 18th of April, the Sixth Massachusetts passed through New York on its way to Washington a mighty throng cheered its progress, and an even more hearty Godspeed was given to the New York Seventh when on the following day it too set forth to guard the endangered capital. Thenceforward regiment after regiment was quickly organized and sent to the front, while Mayor Wood and his common council, moving with the current, hastened to pledge support to the Union cause. New York before the opening of another year had a hundred and twenty thousand soldiers in the field, —a sixth of the able-bodied men in the State, —and until the end of the war she continued to send her sons to the front by scores of thousands.

The city's devotion to the Union found expression in other yet no less effective ways. New York men furnished money for the building of

the iron-clad "Monitor,"—designed by John Ericsson in his Beach Street home, and launched from an East River yard,—whose fight with the "Merrimac" in Hampton Roads not only saved the Union fleet in those waters, but compelled the rebuilding of the navies of the world. And the women of the city from the first busied themselves with efforts to care for the soldiers in camp and hospital and for their widows and orphans. They led in the founding of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions, and a single fair held in behalf of the former yielded more than a million dollars. A kindred organization ministered to the necessities of refugees from the South, while a Soldier's Rest was established on the site of Madison Square Garden, where soldiers could find a temporary home when on their way to or from the front. But in no form did New York's devotion to the Union find more sufficing expression than in the labors of the Union League Club, which, founded in the closing days of 1862 on the basis of "absolute and unqualified loyalty to the government, and unwavering support of its effort for the suppression of the rebellion," counted among its members every loyal citizen of note in the town. Two hundred and ten million dollars were subscribed by the bankers



and capitalists of Manhattan to the loans made to the government between 1861 and 1865, and the major portion of this sum was furnished or secured by members of the Union League Club.

There was but one blot on New York's story of splendid loyalty. Proof of the existence of a turbulent element in the population had again been furnished in 1849 when some thousands of rioters, taking into their own hands a quarrel between Edwin Forrest and the English actor William Charles Macready, sought to drive the latter from the stage of the Astor Place Opera-House, but were held in check by the police, fired into by the militia, and finally dispersed with a loss of twenty killed; and the same lawless spirit found expression in an outbreak yet more ferocious in July, 1863. Congress had passed a draft law that unwisely exempted from its operation all who should pay into the federal treasury the sum of three hundred dollars, and the discontent thus produced was systematically fomented in New York City by pot-house politicians, who in bar-rooms and on street corners declared the draft unconstitutional, and that it bore with peculiar oppressiveness upon the poor man. Many vowed resistance, and, borrowing courage from the fact that the city, to beat back Lee's

invasion of Pennsylvania, had been denuded of all but three hundred troops, made plans to attack the drafting officers. No trouble occurred on the first day of the draft, July 11, but on the second, July 13, an organized mob attacked and wrecked the provost-marshal's office at the corner of Third Avenue and Forty-sixth Street. Then the rioters, inspired by animosity towards the negro race, made a raid on the colored orphan asylum in Fifth Avenue, between Forty-third and Forty-fourth Streets; and though a handful of policemen aided the nurses in getting the children through a rear door to a place of safety, the building was burned to the ground. After this the mob attacked another enrolling office at No. 1190 Broadway, near Twenty-eighth Street, with the resultant firing and pilage of most of the shops in the neighborhood.

A cry now went up to kill the police, and soon five thousand rioters, so rapidly had the mob swelled in numbers, were marching down Broadway, bent upon the destruction of police headquarters in Mulberry Street. Thomas C. Acton, president of the police board, informed of the rioters' intention, detailed Sergeant Daniel Carpenter with two hundred men to lie in wait for them. Carpenter marched his squad into

Bleecker Street and so to Broadway, at the same time sending detachments up the nearest parallel streets east and west to strike the flanks of the oncoming mob. "Hit for their heads, men," were his orders. "Hit quick and hard, and take no prisoners." The fight that followed came soon to an end, and Broadway was cleared of rioters, save those who lay upon the pavement with broken skulls. Routed at one point, however, the mob soon rallied at another, and a few hours later, under cover of darkness, a desperate attempt was made to sack and burn the office of the *Tribune* in Park Row. Here again the police did heroic service, and a charge led by Inspector George W. Dilks at the head of a hundred and ten men drove the rioters from the field with heavy loss in killed and wounded. Riotous feints had meantime been made upon the Seventh Avenue and Centre Street arsenals and upon the armory at the corner of Second Avenue and Twenty-first Street; the house in Fifth Avenue of George Opdyke, then mayor of the city, was invaded and some of his furniture destroyed; and an attack was made against the residence in Ninth Street near Fifth Avenue of Henry J. Raymond, editor of the *Times*, which had strongly supported the draft.

It was clear at the close of Monday that the police force of the city was too small to cope with the lawless spirit. Mayor Opdyke accordingly called upon the State and federal authorities for aid, and all of the New York regiments at the front were ordered to repair to the city. While this order was in process of execution the mob continued its work of firing and looting houses and of maltreating and murdering unoffending negroes; but on the evening of Wednesday the returning regiments began to arrive in the city. With their coming, bayonets and bullets were substituted for policemen's clubs, the rioters were attacked at every point with a resolute desire to do them harm. This wholesome policy, with a temporary suspension of the draft, quelled the rioting, and on Friday, July 17, the mayor was able to announce the complete restoration of order. Two million dollars' worth of property had been destroyed and over twelve hundred rioters slain.

During the last forty years New York has witnessed the assembling of but one mob which the police could not handle without the assistance of the military. That was in July, 1871, when the Orange lodges of the city undertook to parade on the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne.

Announcement of their purpose evoked threats of violence from the Celtic Irish, and, fearing trouble, the governor of the State ordered five regiments of the National Guard to escort and protect the procession. Policemen were also detailed to surround and guard it. The point of departure was the corner of Eighth Avenue and Twenty-ninth Street, and at the appointed hour in the afternoon of July 12, the paraders began their line of march,—a detail of patrolmen in front, then a regiment, and next the Orangemen, with a moving military wall around them, and two other regiments bringing up the rear. Before they had moved two blocks a volley of sticks and stones from sidewalks, house-tops, and windows rained upon Orangemen, police, and soldiery, many of whom were injured. Angered at this treatment, the members of one of the rear regiments, not waiting for orders, fired, some into the crowd and others by aim at house-tops and windows. There was only one discharge, but fifty-four persons were slain. After this one deadly volley police clubs and bayonets held some of the rioters at bay, while the greater number turned and ran as the reserve patrolmen along the line hastened to the scene. The remainder of the march passed without incident,

and at its close the Orangemen quietly and singly made for their homes. Since that time no serious riot has occurred in New York.

A Republican in 1862 succeeded Fernando Wood as mayor, but Tammany Hall soon regained control of the municipal government, and for several years after the Civil War political corruption ran riot in New York City. Tammany Hall's master spirit at that period was William M. Tweed, an able but coarse and unscrupulous man, who following 1863 organized the politicians of his own party and a number of the local Republican leaders of the baser sort into a gigantic conspiracy to plunder the city. The "Tweed ring," as it was called, attained its greatest power during the mayoralty of Oakey Hall, who was elected in 1869, when it was master of every department not only of the city, but also of the State government. Its greatest scheme of robbery was the building of a new court house in City Hall Park. Work on this structure was begun under a stipulation that the cost should not exceed two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, but before 1871 eight millions were expended on it, more than a million of this sum being traced to Tweed's pocket. The end came in 1871, when the *Times* exposed the opera-

tions of the ring. Then an aroused public sentiment compassed its defeat at the polls, and this was followed by the prosecution and imprisonment of the chief offenders, Tweed himself dying in a felon's cell. There are still corruption and jobbery in the politics of the city, but the lesson taught in the overthrow of the "Tweed ring" has not been forgotten, and the trend is towards a higher and purer standard in public affairs.

The material prosperity of the city has increased steadily during the last forty years. A chief factor in the making of the New York of to-day was the construction of the elevated railway system, completed in 1880 through the efforts of Cyrus W. Field. This brought all parts of the island within easy distance of each other, and the unbroken lines of city blocks which quickly followed in its wake wrought a complete transformation in the region in and about Harlem, erstwhile an isolated suburb reached only by horse-car or steamboat, but now as near the heart of trade as Fourteenth or Forty-second Streets were in earlier years. More recently the cable-car and the electric trolley-car have ministered to the increasing need for rapid transportation and the present year sees an underground railway system approaching completion. Mean-

time, the bridge across the East River, completed in 1883, has been found inadequate to the needs of an ever-growing population, and three other structures are being thrown across that stream, while private enterprise is making ready to bind the Jersey shore to Manhattan by driving a tunnel under the North River.

The territorial expansion of New York has the while more than kept pace with its material development. By an act of the legislature, passed in 1873, the corporate limits were carried across the Harlem, and a part of Westchester County, amounting to thirteen thousand acres, erected into city wards. A dozen years later a movement was set on foot to include in one municipality Manhattan Island, Brooklyn, part of Queens County, Staten Island or Richmond County, and yet another portion of Westchester County. This project took definite shape in 1890, when a commission of eleven members, headed by Andrew H. Green, was appointed to inquire into and report upon its expediency. The labors of the commission took shape in a bill passed by the legislature in 1894, which provided for the submission of the question to a vote of the people of the cities, towns, and villages included in the proposed consolidation.



The people gave their vote in November of the same year, and only the residents of Mount Vernon and the town of Westchester, the latter returning an adverse majority of one, failed to record their approval. Meanwhile, by act of the legislature, West Chester, East Chester, Pelham, and Wakefield (or South Mount Vernon) were, in June, 1895, annexed to New York City, whereby another twenty thousand acres were brought within the corporate limits and West Chester township's vote against consolidation rendered ineffective.

This carried the city line to the limit in Westchester County recommended by Commissioner Green and his associates, and in January following a bill was passed by the legislature which made Kings County, a portion of Queens, and all of Richmond integral parts of Greater New York. The constitution adopted by the State in 1894 gives to the mayors of the several cities the right to veto bills dealing with their affairs. The mayors of New York and Brooklyn objected to the consolidation bill when it was laid before them, while the mayor of Long Island City approved it. The measure was, however, again passed over the vetoes of the mayors, and on May 11, 1896, with the approval of the gover-

nor, it became a law. Then a commission of nine members, which included Seth Low and Benjamin F. Tracy, was appointed by the governor to frame a charter for the new municipality and report the same to the legislature; and their labors had issue in a bill which on May 5, 1897, received the signature of the governor. This measure, which took effect January 1, 1898, but has since undergone material amendment, divides the city into five boroughs,—Manhattan, the Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens, and Richmond,—embracing an area of a little less than three hundred and eighteen square miles, and counting a population in 1902 of three and a half millions. Thus, fulfilling its imperial destiny, has the Indian-harried village of two hundred and fifty years ago become the second city in the world.

The quickening of New York's higher life during the last forty years has kept pace with its growth in area and in population, and with the perfection of the forces which are soon to make it, if it has not already become, the financial centre of the nations. A marked improvement in religious and in private and public architecture has been one of the most auspicious signs of recent years, and with it has come hopeful development in science and art, and in music and

literature. The increase not only of social but of literary and dramatic clubs, such as the Authors, Century, and Players; the building of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, of the American Museum of Natural History, of Carnegie Music Hall, and of the Metropolitan Opera-House; the wise diversion of the bequests of John Jacob Astor, James Lenox, and Samuel J. Tilden to the creation of a public library organized to meet the needs both of to-day and of the long to-morrow; the transformation of Columbia College into a university, with an endowment and a mental and physical equipment adequate to its work; the multiplication of hospitals and of agencies for the betterment of the helpless and the unfortunate,—all these are eloquent and significant tokens of New York's higher and broader future. Grave dangers confront that future; but these exist to be overcome. The citizen who fails to face them with resolute confidence in his own and in his fellows' ability to meet and master each new danger and each new evil is unworthy of his inheritance and his race. New York counts few of this sort among her sons. Already a great and noble city, their manifold discharge of all the duties of citizenship is to make her a nobler and greater one.

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## APPENDIX A

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### *Mayors of New York City*

|                           |           |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| Thomas Willett .....      | 1665      |
| Thomas Delavall .....     | 1666      |
| Thomas Willett .....      | 1667      |
| Cornelis Steenwyck .....  | 1668-1670 |
| Thomas Delavall. ....     | 1671      |
| Matthias Nicolls .....    | 1672      |
| John Lawrence .....       | 1673      |
| William Dervall .....     | 1675      |
| Nicholas De Meyer .....   | 1676      |
| S. Van Courtland .....    | 1677      |
| Thomas Delavall .....     | 1678      |
| Francis Rombouts .....    | 1679      |
| William Dyre .....        | 1680-1681 |
| Cornelis Steenwyck .....  | 1682-1683 |
| Gabriel Minville .....    | 1684      |
| Nicholas Bayard .....     | 1685      |
| S. Van Courtland .....    | 1686-1687 |
| Peter Delancy .....       | 1689-1690 |
| John Lawrence .....       | 1691      |
| Abraham de Peyster.....   | 1692-1695 |
| William Merritt .....     | 1695-1698 |
| Johannes de Peyster ..... | 1698-1699 |
| David Provost .....       | 1699-1700 |

## APPENDIX A

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|-----------------------------|-----------|
| Isaac de Riemer.....        | 1700-1701 |
| Thomas Noell .....          | 1701-1702 |
| Philip French .....         | 1702-1703 |
| William Peartree .....      | 1703-1707 |
| Ebenezer Wilson .....       | 1707-1710 |
| Jacobus Van Courtland ..... | 1710-1711 |
| Caleb Heathcote .....       | 1711-1714 |
| John Johnson .....          | 1714-1719 |
| Jacobus Van Courtland ..... | 1719-1720 |
| Robert Walters .....        | 1720-1725 |
| Johannes Jensen .....       | 1725-1726 |
| Robert Lurting .....        | 1726-1735 |
| Paul Richard .....          | 1735-1739 |
| John Cruger, Sr. ....       | 1739-1744 |
| Stephen Bayard .....        | 1744-1747 |
| Edward Holland .....        | 1747-1757 |
| John Cruger, Jr. ....       | 1757-1766 |
| Whitehead Hicks .....       | 1766-1776 |
| David Matthews, Tory .....  | 1776-1784 |
| James Duane .....           | 1784-1789 |
| Richard Varick .....        | 1789-1801 |
| Edward Livingston .....     | 1801-1803 |
| De Witt Clinton .....       | 1803-1807 |
| Marinus Willett .....       | 1807-1808 |
| De Witt Clinton .....       | 1808-1810 |
| Jacob Radcliff .....        | 1810-1811 |
| De Witt Clinton .....       | 1811-1815 |
| John Ferguson .....         | 1815      |
| Jacob Radcliff .....        | 1815-1818 |

## APPENDIX A

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|-------------------------------|-----------|
| Cadwallader D. Colden .....   | 1818-1821 |
| Stephen Allen .....           | 1821-1824 |
| William Paulding .....        | 1825-1826 |
| Philip Hone .....             | 1826-1827 |
| William Paulding .....        | 1827-1829 |
| Walter Bowne .....            | 1829-1833 |
| Gideon Lee .....              | 1833-1834 |
| Cornelius W. Lawrence .....   | 1834-1837 |
| Aaron Clark .....             | 1837-1839 |
| Isaac L. Varian .....         | 1839-1841 |
| Robert H. Morris .....        | 1841-1844 |
| James Harper .....            | 1844-1845 |
| William F. Havemeyer .....    | 1845-1846 |
| Andrew H. Mickle.....         | 1846-1847 |
| William V. Brady .....        | 1847-1848 |
| William F. Havemeyer .....    | 1848-1849 |
| Caleb S. Woodhull .....       | 1849-1851 |
| Ambrose C. Kingsland .....    | 1851-1853 |
| Jacob A. Westervelt .....     | 1853-1855 |
| Fernando Wood .....           | 1855-1858 |
| Daniel F. Tiemann .....       | 1858-1860 |
| Fernando Wood .....           | 1860-1862 |
| George Opdyke .....           | 1862-1864 |
| C. Godfrey Gunther .....      | 1864-1866 |
| John T. Hoffman .....         | 1866-1868 |
| T. Coman (acting) .....       | 1868      |
| A. Oakey Hall .....           | 1869-1872 |
| William F. Havemeyer .....    | 1873-1874 |
| S. B. H. Vance (acting) ..... | 1874      |

## APPENDIX A

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|                          |           |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| William H. Wickham ..... | 1875-1876 |
| Smith Ely .....          | 1877-1878 |
| Edward Cooper .....      | 1879-1880 |
| William R. Grace .....   | 1881-1882 |
| Franklin Edson .....     | 1883-1884 |
| William R. Grace .....   | 1885-1886 |
| Abram S. Hewitt .....    | 1887-1888 |
| Hugh J. Grant .....      | 1889-1892 |
| Thomas F. Gilroy .....   | 1893-1894 |
| William L. Strong .....  | 1895-1897 |
| Robert A. Van Wyck ..... | 1898-1901 |
| Seth Low .....           | 1902      |

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## APPENDIX B

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### *Important Events in the History of New York*

1609. (September 6) Landfall of Henry Hudson. Explores the Hudson.
1613. Trading-post established on Manhattan Island by Amsterdam merchants.
1621. Dutch West India Company chartered.
1624. Peter Minuit director-general of New Netherland.
1626. Buys Manhattan Island of the Indians.
1629. Staple rights granted to New Amsterdam.
1632. Wouter Van Twiller succeeds Minuit.
1633. Adam Roelandsen first school-master of New Amsterdam. First church built in Pearl Street.
1635. Fort Amsterdam completed.
1638. Van Twiller succeeded by William Kieft.
1642. First tavern (later Stadt Huys) built at the head of Coenties Slip. Church of St. Nicholas built within the fort. First public ferry established on the East River.
1643. Destructive war with the Indians.
1647. Kieft succeeded by Peter Stuyvesant.
1652. First city charter granted,—beginning of representative government.
1653. Palisades erected along the line of Wall Street as a military defence.



## APPENDIX B

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- 1656. City first surveyed and mapped.
- 1658. Streets first paved with stone. A rattle-watch organized.
- 1659. Road opened to Harlem.
- 1664. City taken by the English. Richard Nicolls governor.
- 1665. Trial by jury established. Duke's Laws promulgated.
- 1668. Francis Lovelace succeeds Nicolls as governor.
- 1669. Public meeting established for merchants.
- 1670. First Lutheran Church built.
- 1673. First mail between New York and Boston. City retaken by the Dutch.
- 1674. Receded to the English. Edmund Andros governor.
- 1678. Monopoly of bolting flour granted city.
- 1682. Death of Peter Stuyvesant.
- 1683. Andros succeeded by Thomas Dongan.
- 1686. City seal presented. New charter granted city.
- 1688. Wall Street laid out and Water Street projected.
- 1689. Fall of the house of Stuart and usurpation of Jacob Leisler.
- 1691. Henry Sloughter governor. Leisler hanged.
- 1692. Benjamin Fletcher governor. Rise of piracy. Pine, Cedar, and adjoining streets laid out.
- 1693. First printing-press set up by William Bradford.
- 1696. First Trinity Church and Dutch Church in Garden Street erected.
- 1697. Streets lighted and night-watch established.
- 1698. Earl of Bellomont governor. Suppression of piracy.

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1699. City Hall in Wall Street erected.
1702. Lord Cornbury governor.
1703. The Queen's Farm granted to Trinity Church. Huguenot Church built in Pine Street.
1705. First English school established.
1707. Broadway paved from Bowling Green to Trinity Church.
1708. Lord Lovelace governor.
1710. Robert Hunter governor. Lutheran Church erected in Broadway.
1711. Slave-market established in Wall Street.
1719. Presbyterian Church built in Wall Street.
1720. William Burnet governor.
1725. The first newspaper—the *New York Gazette*—established by William Bradford.
1728. John Montgomery governor.
1729. Jews' burial-ground opened near Chatham Square. Dutch Church built in Nassau Street.
1730. City charter amended. Greenwich and Washington Streets projected. Stage line to Philadelphia established. Jewish synagogue erected in Mill Street.
1731. Beginning of the Society Library. Fire department organized.
1732. William Cosby governor. Pearl Street regulated.
1734. Zenger's *Weekly Journal* founded. Almshouse erected on the Common.
1735. Freedom of the press established in Zenger trial.
- 1740-41. The year of "the hard winter."

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1741. "Great Negro Plot."
1743. George Clinton governor. James Parker founded  
*The Post Boy*.
1751. Moravian Church built in Fulton Street.
1752. Merchants' Exchange built. St. George's Chapel  
erected in Beekman Street.
1753. Sir Danvers Osborne governor.
1754. The Walton House erected in Pearl Street. King's  
College chartered.
1755. Sir Charles Hardy governor. Staten Island ferry  
established.
1760. First Baptist Church built in Gold Street.
1761. Robert Monckton governor.
1763. Paulus Hook (Jersey City) ferry established.
1764. First Methodist Church erected in John Street.
1765. Passage of the Stamp Act. Rioting in New York  
and Sons of Liberty organized. Sir Henry  
Moore governor.
1766. Stamp Act repealed. St. Paul's Church built.
1767. John Street Theatre opened.
1768. Brick Church (Beekman Street) opened for wor-  
ship.
1769. North Dutch Church built in William Street.
1770. Battle of Golden Hill. Chamber of Commerce in-  
corporated. Statue of George III. erected on  
the Bowling Green. Statue of William Pitt set  
up in Wall Street. Marine Society incorporated.  
Earl of Dunmore governor.
1771. Sir William Tryon governor.

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1773. Corner-stone of New York Hospital laid. *Gazette* founded by James Rivington.
1774. Hoboken ferry established.
1775. Tea-ships prevented from landing their cargoes. Bridewell erected on the Common.
1776. (April) Washington occupies New York. (September) British occupy New York. Fire destroys five hundred buildings. Battle of Harlem Heights.
1778. Fire destroys three hundred buildings.
1783. (November 25) Evacuation of the city by the British. Washington bade farewell to his officers.
1784. Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen formed. King's College rechartered and named Columbia College.
1786. St. Peter's Church erected in Barclay Street.
1788. The Doctor's Mob.
1789. First Congress met. New York federal capital. Washington inaugurated. Tammany Society founded.
1790. Tontine Association founded. First sidewalks laid in the city.
1791. Filling in of the Collect begun. Bank of New York chartered.
1794. Christ Church built in Ann Street.
1795. First epidemic of yellow fever. Almshouse built in Chambers Street. *Commercial Advertiser* founded.
1796. State prison opened in Greenwich.

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- 1797. Canal constructed in Canal Street.
- 1798. Park Theatre built.
- 1801. Sailor's Snug Harbor founded. *Evening Post* founded by William Coleman.
- 1804. New York Historical Society organized. Duel between Burr and Hamilton.
- 1806. First free school opened.
- 1807. First steamboat, the "Clermont," built by Robert Fulton. College of Physicians and Surgeons chartered. St. John's chapel built in Varick Street.
- 1808. American Academy of Fine Arts incorporated. City plotted to One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street.
- 1811. Fire destroys one hundred buildings.
- 1812. Present City Hall completed.
- 1813. New York blockaded by British fleet.
- 1814. Steam ferry-boats first used on the rivers.
- 1816. Beginning of Bellevue Establishment.
- 1817. First line of packet ships established. Erie Canal begun.
- 1819. "Savannah," first ocean steamship, built. First savings-bank founded.
- 1821. Mercantile Library founded.
- 1824. Lafayette revisited America.
- 1825. Erie Canal completed. Gas introduced into the city. House of Refuge opened in Madison Square. Second Merchant's Exchange begun in Wall Street.

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1827. *Journal of Commerce* founded.
1828. American Museum founded.
1831. University of the City of New York founded.
1832. Epidemic of Asiatic cholera.
1833. New York *Sun* founded by Benjamin H. Day.  
"Knickerbocker Magazine" established.
1834. Mayor first chosen by the people. Anti-slavery riots.
1835. New York *Herald* founded by James Gordon Bennett. Fire destroys six hundred buildings.
1836. Union Theological Seminary founded. Erie railway begun. *Express* founded by James and Erastus Brooks.
1837. Financial panic attended by riots.
1838. The Tombs built on the site of the Collect.
- 1840-50. Era of clipper ships.
1841. New York *Tribune* founded by Horace Greeley.
1842. Croton Aqueduct opened.
1846. Magnetic telegraph opened between New York and Philadelphia. Present Trinity Church completed.
1848. Astor Library founded by bequest of John Jacob Astor. Collins Line of steamships founded.
1849. Astor Place Opera-House riot. City charter amended.
1851. New York *Times* founded by Henry J. Raymond. Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, visited New York. Visit of Jenny Lind.
1853. World's Fair in Crystal Palace, on Murray Hill.

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1854. Academy of Music opened. House of Refuge removed to Randall's Island.
1856. Site of Central Park purchased. Fifth Avenue Hotel begun.
1857. City charter amended. Cooper Institute founded.
1858. Corner-stone of St. Patrick's Cathedral laid.
1860. New York *World* founded.
1862. Union League Club founded. Ironclad "Monitor" built.
1863. (July) Draft riots. Twelve hundred rioters slain.
1870. Lenox Library founded by James Lenox.
1871. Downfall of Tweed Ring. Orange riot.
1873. City crosses the Harlem.
1877. American Museum of Natural History founded.
1880. Elevated railway system completed. Metropolitan Museum of Art founded.
1882. New York *Journal* founded by Albert Pulitzer.
1883. First East River bridge opened.
1898. Greater New York created by annexation of Brooklyn, Staten Island, and part of Queens County.

END OF VOL. I

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